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ABSTRACT

This paper asserts that early teacher identity reflected wider contradictions and tensions within 19th century society, noting that Victorian society in England and Canada struggled to embrace modernity, and while committed to the Enlightenment project of science and progress and the principles of rationality and reason, much traditionalism still defined 19th century society. The first section of the paper describes the image of the early 19th century elementary school teacher, explaining that history portrayed this teacher as immoral, incompetent, and incapable of anything but teaching. This teacher knew little or nothing of basic subject matter, and disorder reigned in the classroom. It was against this critique that the image of the good teacher emerged. The second section outlines knowledge expectations of the modern teacher. During this time, teachers were characterized as being active, enthusiastic learners, intellectually capable of translating philosophical theories about the science of the mind into practical teaching strategies and methods. The last section describes characteristics of the moral teacher. Reformers considered 19th century schooling for the masses a moral force that would produce character and habits crucial to maintaining order. The main characteristics of the moral and modern teacher comprised the concept of "teaching power" (the knowledge and personal characteristics considered most appropriate for the teacher). (SM)

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CONSTRUCTING THE MODERN AND MORAL TEACHER: A GENEALOGY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER IN ENGLAND AND UPPER CANADA

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By Marianne Larsen

for the CIES 2002 Annual Meeting, Orlando, Florida
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"Much depends on the right selection of Teachers. No school can prosper without *good* Teachers. A bad tree may as well bring forth good fruit, as a bad teacher makes a good school."[1]

"I have frequently said, if you give me a good teacher, put him anywhere, and he will have a good school; if he be an inferior teacher, put him anywhere, and he will not."[2]

Introduction

Like many other western nations, England and Canada, from the 1830s through the rest of the nineteenth century, were in the process of constructing mass educational systems.[3] With growing interest in the development of elementary education systems, and against a background of social and political disorder, notions of the good teacher were articulated with increasing intensity. The teacher became an object of social concern to a broad spectrum of philosophers, education reformers, politicians, inspectors, journalists and others who considered themselves knowledgeable about education reform.[4] What emerged from the discourse of educational reform was the image of the teacher as a philosopher/pedagogic expert, and a humble, moral Christian. This, it is argued, comprises the paradoxical identity of the teacher as a modern and moral subject.

The teacher is not the object of this research, but rather how the elementary school teacher came to be the focus of attention - an object of discourse – during the nineteenth century. In this way, it is useful to think of the idea of the teacher as an historical construct. By being broadly concerned with the idea of the teacher, the paper draws upon a Foucauldian conception of discourse. In this respect, this comparative object of this study is not the teacher, but the concept of discourse,

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which is understood here as a system of statements whose organization is regular and systematic, consisting of all that can be said and thought about a particular topic, as well as who has permission to speak and with what authority. The focus is not so much what individuals knew or thought about in the past, but rather what was possible to know or think about teachers, and how statements can be considered technologies for the production of the identities.

The emphasis in this type of research shifts from the content to the function of statements to illustrate the effects that they bring about, rather than merely positing that statements constitute a representation of reality. Thus, in describing the modes in which the teacher has come to be constituted as subject, the productive nature of discourse is emphasised.[5] In this respect, this paper is an attempt to understand the history of the ways that teachers have been constituted as subjects. Drawing again upon the work of Foucault, the subject is understood as an effect of disciplinary power relations. In other words, to be a subject is to be subjected. Thus, the interaction between the teacher as an individual subject, and technologies of regulation, such as certification and training practices, which produce the subject are explored in this paper.

Comparative historical research reveals that Victorian educational discourse, in both Canada and England, produced the teacher as a modern and moral subject. First, the modern teacher was a philosopher, a scientist and a pedagogic expert. Positioning the elementary school teacher in this way reflected Enlightenment principles of rationality, reason, science and progress. It is in this respect that the teacher emerged as a modern individual. However, expectations of manners and morals, grounded in the Christian faith, were considered much more significant than knowledge attainments. Thus, the moral teacher embodied the characteristics of pastoral Christianity; a humble, self-denying and sympathetic character, motivated by a true calling to become the guide and companion of the young, whose welfare and care were in their hands. Moreover, with patience, kindness and gentleness the good teacher engaged in the life-long duty of instilling the Christian

sentiment in the minds and hearts of her pupils. Love motivated the good schoolmaster, and it was love that characterised his classroom. The moral teacher reflected a commitment to tradition based on the principles of the Christian Church. The result was a fragmented subject, poised uneasily between the traditional and modern worlds.

The larger argument of this paper is that the paradoxical identity of the teacher reflected the wider contradictions and tensions of nineteenth century society. Victorian society, in both England and Canada, struggled to embrace modernity. While committed to the Enlightenment project of science and progress, and commitment to the principles of rationality and reason, there was still much traditionalism that defined nineteenth century society. The struggle to define the teacher merely reflected a larger nineteenth century struggle between tradition and modernity.

This paper is organized into three sections. In the first, the image of the early nineteenth century elementary school teacher is described. There is no attempt here to uncover the 'truth' about the teacher, as truth is merely a function of what can be said at any particular time. Rather, the archival record, written almost entirely by middle to upper class reformers, politicians, inspectors, newspaper and magazine columnists and editors, reveal what they most abhorred in the private schoolmaster and mistress. The elementary school teacher in early nineteenth century England and Canada was portrayed as an immoral and incompetent individual, the 'refuse of society' unfit and incapable of anything but teaching. It is against this critique that the image of the good teacher emerges. In the second section of this paper, the knowledge expectations of the modern teacher are outlined. The last section describes the characteristics of the moral teacher. In the conclusion a few remarks will be made about the relationship between the emergence of the teacher as a fragmented and paradoxical subject, and some of the wider tensions that characterized nineteenth century society.

Part 1. The Image of the Early Nineteenth Century Teacher: Ignorant, Incompetent and Immoral

> *Common School teaching has degraded "to a mere matter of convenience to transient persons, or common idlers, who often stay for but one season, and leave the Schools vacant until they accommodate some other like person; whereby the minds of the youth of this Province are left without due cultivation, or, what is still worse, frequently with vulgar, low-bred, vicious and intemperate examples before them.*[6]

> *School teachers are "the refuse of other callings - discarded servants, or ruined tradesmen; who cannot do a sum of three; who would not be able to write a common letter; who do not know whether the earth is a cube or a sphere, and cannot tell whether Jerusalem is in Asia or America; whom no gentleman would trust with the key of his cellar, and no tradesman would send of a message.*[7]

Teaching in early nineteenth century England and Canada was viewed as a refuge for the destitute individual who, having failed at their previous occupation, took up teaching as a last resort. The office of teaching in England was "one of those vocations which serve as the sinks of all others, and which might be described as guilds of refuge."[8] Similarly, the early Upper Canadian pioneer school was the "last refuge of the idle and worthless" filled with "persons as unfit as can be conceived."[9] Schoolmasters were apt to take up the profession from pecuniary necessity, as a result of illness, misfortune, misconduct or indolence.[10] Some who "had missed, or made shipwreck of, their chances in life" came to Upper Canada and not being adapted to farming, resorted to teaching as a means of livelihood.[11] These included old, discharged British soldiers who either lived by begging or picking up odd jobs such as teaching where possible.[12] Old retired soldiers, sailors, sea captains, and other "mere and needy adventurers" were also among those who had taken up school keeping as a last resort in England.[13]

School teaching in early nineteenth century England was the prerogative of the old, sick, lame and the crippled. Given the absence of any type of old aged pension schemes, and the negative connotations associated with charity and the poor house, older women and men turned to teaching either in their homes, or in a local schoolhouse, to earn some extra money.[14] The situation was marginally different in colonial British North America, where teaching was not considered the lot of

old men and women.[15] However, in both England and Canada, elementary school teachers were said to be either sick, deaf, blind, crippled, deformed, missing limbs or disabled in one way or another.[16] Schoolmasters in Upper Canada, for example, were "either uneducated lads or persons physically or morally disqualified for any occupation… the greater part are men whom a delicate constitution or some bodily injury has unfitted for the more profitable employment of their time in manual labour."[17]

Old, sick, lame and the least competent of individuals were considered the only ones willing to take up teaching given the low salaries and poor conditions associated with the job.[18] While low salaries and concomitant incompetence were often blamed on parents, local trustees and schools managers who choose the cheapest rather than the most highly qualified teacher, dire financial circumstances were just as likely to be attributed to the personal deficiencies of the schoolteacher.[19] One solution to low emoluments was to take on additional paid work in the local community, or in their homes during teaching hours. In England, taking on paid pursuits in addition to teaching was considered immoral and injurious to children.[20] In contrast, in Upper Canada engaging in additional occupations besides teaching was not considered a character flaw, given that many individuals in early pioneer society, regardless of class background, engaged in numerous occupations simultaneously to make ends meet. In this way, divisions between social classes were not as strictly demarked compared to England.

Poverty forced many teachers to move in and out of teaching. Some men using it as a stepping stone to other professions, while schoolmistresses tended to leave upon marriage. In rural areas in particular, there was a succession of teachers who stayed only for short periods of time.[21] In England, teachers and their schools were charged with being "ephemeral", and of "shifting and changeable character."[22] In Canada, these "strolling vagabonds", and "itinerant and illiterate pedagogues" were said to be incapable of providing an appropriate education for children.[23] The

majority of peripatetic teachers in Upper Canada were Americans who had come to the province in the late eighteenth century, following the war of independence.[24] These 'rambling' Americans taught anyone who would pay their fees, and then after a short period of time, like restless 'birds of passage' move on to other localities. 'Yankee schoolmasters' were incompetent and willing to accept a lower rate of pay than other teachers, driving down salaries for British or Canadian born teachers.[25] Moreover, these unpatriotic 'American adventurers' were immoral; harbouring republican values, which they instilled in their pupils. Such an "evil", it was said, had to be rooted out of the British colony.[26]

Lack of success, and consequent vagabondism, poverty and ill health, were considered character flaws. In fact, immorality, ill fortune and poor health were all inextricably linked in the person of the elementary school teacher. Such individuals indulged in questionable and illegal behaviour, including fighting, forgery and theft, gambling, or in the case of Upper Canada, tobacco smoking and snuff taking.[27] Above all, the elementary school teacher was a drunkard. Hence, in England, the drunkenness of the schoolmaster was considered "almost proverbial."[28] Likewise, the consumption of alcohol by Upper Canadian schoolmasters was viewed as a vice.[29]

Morally deficient teachers were unsuitable material for the moral and religious education of the young.[30] Inspectors in England and Upper Canada noted the relationship between schoolmasters who were immoral, and absence of order and instruction in moral duties. In particular, old and impoverished schoolmasters, were incapable of imparting 'good moral tone' to their students. Such teachers seldom attended to moral instruction, often reducing religious teaching to the repetition of the catechism[31]. If they did attempt to provide some form of 'moral' instruction, it was generally with the barbarous assistance of a whip, rod or cane.[32] Officials widely condemned the cruel, injudicious, if not unprincipled manner in which disciplined was administered in these schools.[33] The cruelty of schoolmasters in the British North American colony was also recorded, given that

"No larnin' without lickin'" was the creed in early pioneer schools. Most pioneer teachers who had come from Britain ruled with "somewhat despotic sway, enforcing their authority with a sometimes pretty free use of the birch." [34] While teachers may have been quick to resort to the use of the birch, beech, rod, cane or the 'taws', like England, there was little toleration among officials for such barbarous and cruel corporal punishment.[35]

Ignorance characterized the teacher who resorted to frequent use of corporal punishment to maintain order in the classroom. If not entirely illiterate, elementary school teachers were said to be ignorant about basic subject matter, and teaching principles and methods. Such 'half-informed' persons were incompetent and incapable of performing their duties efficiently. They lacked system and methods; their classrooms consequently, scenes of chaotic disorder.[36] The Superintendent of Victoria District in Upper Canada wrote that the "defects of the Teachers both as to acquirements and system are really deplorable."[37] One English Inspector summed up the situation neatly: "With few exceptions, there is no system of teaching in the schools in my district."[38] Teachers who were deficient in spirit, activity and energy, fell "into slothful and slovenly habits of discipline and teaching."[39] They fell asleep in the classroom, arrived late for work, attended irregularly or were absent altogether. Others, who actually appeared at work, spent their time in idle pursuits or doing nothing at all. [40] Much criticism was reserved for the laziness of Upper Canadian teachers, who were were incompetent and thus improper role models for their pupils. In fact, it was said that a man took up teaching in the colony when 'he was too lazy to walk or to fell timber in the woods.'[41] In short, such a teacher was said to be "an insignificant contemptible being…unfit for business and too lazy to live by the 'sweat of [his] face.'"[42]

While the early nineteenth century teacher was dismissed as being an ignorant, incompetent and "insignificant contemptible being", a shift in thinking about the teacher occurred in the 1830s, accompanying the increase in general interest in elementary education. The next section outlines

some of the characteristics of the good teacher, and in so doing, suggests that paradox defines the identity of the teacher as a modern and moral subject.

Part II. The Modern Teacher

The modern teacher takes form from the 1830s onward as an active, enthusiastic and dedicated learner, intellectually capable of translating philosophical theories about the science of the mind into practical teaching strategies and methods. "The teacher, above all persons, was the one to whom we must look, as the practical and experimental philosopher, who will be able, under Divine assistance, to perfect a true science of the mind." [43] The duty of the elementary school teacher as philosopher was to learn from popular and Enlightenment influenced philosophers, metaphysicians, and ethical writers about the relations between physiology, psychology, ethics and pedagogy. Through the study of mental and moral philosophy, teachers would come to understand not only the scientific principles of the mind, but all the laws governing human nature. Elementary schoolmasters and mistresses were encouraged to read books on the relations between pedagogy and the scientific laws governing the mind, from both popular phrenological and metaphysical perspectives.[44] Education journals published excerpts and reviews from books and articles on these scientific and philosophical topics of study.[45] Earnest philosophical study would ensure that pedagogical principles, would reside deep within the mind of the thinking and active teacher.[46]

The teacher not only studied the general and metaphysical principles governing human nature, but was also studied, separately and in combination, the child's moral, intellectual and physical faculties. Hence, the call went out for the elementary school teacher to 'Know Your Pupils!'[47] The schoolteacher was instructed to use the tools of science to know and understand her pupils. The teacher was expected to study the nature and disposition of each faculty, how they could be distinguished, one from the other, and how they acted upon and reflected one another.[48] Once

having developed a 'thorough' knowledge of the innate faculties, the teacher would be able to develop teaching methods best suited for the cultivating the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of each child.[49] There was no one better suited to the task of laying the foundations of the intellect than the schoolmaster: "he who holds in his fingers the threads, upon whose right disposition and freedom from entanglement depends the complicated but glorious tissue of the human mind."[50] Cultivation of the mind involved exercising as many of the intellectual faculties as possible; including concentration and abstraction, observation and attention; understanding, reasoning and judgment; memory, imagination and will.[51]

The faculties could best be cultivated by drawing upon the principles of progressive pedagogy, espoused by Pestalozzi and his adherents.[52] Pedagogy, according to Pestalozzi, fostered humanistic principles of self-development. The teacher drew his inspiration from this humanistic approach, whereby the child's faculties were to be developed in harmony with one another.[53] This principle of harmonious development necessitated that instruction be progressive, proceed from the known to the unknown, with facts taught before causes, the concrete before the abstract, and simple principles before rules.[54] Pestalozzian methods of teaching placed a premium upon movement and activity in the classroom. Teachers were told to keep children in constant activity, not to lecture to them, or require that they merely listen. Lessons were to be in the form of a continual conversation, with teachers telling their pupils interesting anecdotes, questioning their classes with animiation and vivacity, and and keeping their expectations high from one lesson to the next.[55] Teachers who earnestly applied these techniques, and who were zealous, active and energetic in the classroom, were viewed as being especially suited for teaching children. There was also much praise in inspectors' reports for such schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.[56]

To ensure thorough competency in pedagogic matters, the teacher, like those in any other profession, was expected to devote serious thought to the study of her work.[57] "No one but a

dreamer,' wrote Drew in 1856, "anticipates a successful career in any ordinary pursuit of life without setting before himself the work to be done, and diligently studying, in connexion with its prosecution, the means best adapted to success."[58] There were a number of ways in which the teacher could develop expertise in pedagogic matters. To begin with, teachers were encouraged to read and reflect upon the numerous books and articles on teaching principles and practices, which were written from the 1830s through to the end of the century. Up until the 1870s, most of the texts on pedagogy were written by masters of the training colleges, school inspectors and in some cases by schoolmasters themselves.[59] During the later part of the century, accompanying the 'new' interest in Herbartian scientific pedagogy, more books on teaching methods appeared, many which emphasized the notion of teaching as a science, and others on classroom management techniques.[60]

Local study groups or institutes were formed to encourage teachers to study and reflect upon pedagogic principles and practices. Teaching Institutes established in Upper Canada, for example, allowed teachers to assemble for two days to four weeks, for the purpose of instruction in teaching matters and methods.[61] Similarly, the training colleges in England offered short 'harvest school' courses for those acting teachers unable to attend the full sessions during the school year.[62] There was considerable praise for the schoolmistress and master who studied the art and science of their profession. Such teachers were commended for their earnestness and solicitude for self-improvement. One writer noted that "the zeal and industry of the masters did not surprise me…I was astonished at their courage and perseverance."[63] Inspectors in England praised teachers who studied teaching "just as an intelligent lawyer or physician studies the duties of his profession." [64] Similarly, there was much support from Upper Canadian inspectors for the establishment of the Teachers' Institutes.[65]

Moreover, experienced teachers were encouraged to reflect upon their teaching and subject matter. "However accomplished a schoolmaster may be," wrote one educationist, "he will find upon

testing his knowledge in practice, that there are points which have escaped his attention, and depths which he has failed to explore."[66] The classroom, the teacher's laboratory and studio, was the most obvious setting for pedagogic study. The elementary school teacher was to observe children, how they conducted themselves and behaved when in school. A daily record of each pupil's needs, abilities and progress was to be kept. Teachers were encouraged to talk and associate with children, in order to understand their inner nature. Based on these observational and participatory experiments, the teacher as pedagogic expert, would carefully revise, adapt and modify their teaching, according to the needs of each child. Daily revision required not only knowledge of each child's habits and temperament and progressive teaching methods, but also thorough knowledge of one's own subject matter.[67] All of this was to be done with exacting thoroughness: "A few ideas *thoroughly* mastered are better than a thousand notions which are dim and undetermined. Superficial knowledge is of little account - *thorough* knowledge alone is valuable. Let the work of the school be *thorough* work. Let the watchword be *Thorough!*"[68]

Thorough knowledge of pedagogic principles and practices could also be obtained through formal study at the Normal School for Upper Canada, or one of the many teacher training institutions in England.[69] Teaching candidates were provided with intensive instruction in pedagogical matters. Firstly, training college instructors provided examples of teaching methods that teachers in training could draw upon later when in charge of their own schools.[70] As well, lectures on teaching methods, and the principles of education were provided.[71] For example, at the Borough Road Training Institution in London, all students were expected to attend a course comprised of sixty, one hour lectures on topics such as the main goals of teaching, modes and methods of preparing lessons for a variety of subjects, and how to promote moral behaviour amongst pupils.[72] Lectures on teaching methods at the Normal School of Upper Canada, bore a remarkable resemblance to those given at the Borough Road.[73]

Much of the curriculum in the training colleges focused on providing candidates with a selection of elementary and academic subjects. The curriculum at St. Mark's Training Institution in London was especially biased in favour of literary and classical subjects, given Coleridge, the founder's contention that training institutions ought to develop cultured and well-educated teachers. Coleridge viewed St. Mark's as a university, with little to distinguish it from schools for the middle and upper classes.[74] However, St. Mark's was not alone in its focus on cultivating the well-educated teacher. Greek and Latin were also a part of the course of study at Battersea, the Training Institution which was most well known for exemplifying professional and practical -training.[75] The academic subjects covered at St. Mark's also included English grammar and literature, geography and history, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, music and drawing.[76] With the exception of mechanics, teachers in training at the Normal School for Upper Canada studied all of the above, as well as spelling, reading and writing, bookkeeping, chemistry, natural philosophy and gymnastics.[77] Furthermore, certification examinations assumed an extensive depth of knowledge. While some questions, such as "What is education?" and "Is it a science or an art?", were deeply philosophical, others assumed detailed and complex knowledge of the subjects which had been covered during the course of study.[78]

The teacher that emerges from this process was a modern one, scientifically and philosophically engaged with the most contemporary pedagogic principles and practices. The course of study was not simply a mere review of practical teaching methods and elementary subjects. Teachers were viewed as being capable of highly complex philosophical and scientific thinking about the nature of the child and their work. In this way, teachers were to be 'educated' into their profession, and learned how "to *think*, to observe, to compare…to appreciate information, and consequently to seek and to prize it - not like *philosophers* for its own sake, but like human beings, for its value in relations to their own every day work and comforts."[79] However, despite this

emphasis on creating well-educated and cultured professionals, capable of rationale, philosophic study, formation of the teacher's character as a devoted and humble Christian, was more central to the process of training teachers.[80] It is to the formation of the teacher's deportment and disposition that the next section turns, in an attempt to address the relationship between the moral goals of education and the constitution of the teacher as a moral subject.

Part III. The Moral Teacher

"The master makes the schools, and according to the character, disposition, and acquirements of the master will be the character and nature of the school."[81]

Reformers considered nineteenth century schooling for the masses a moral force, producing character and habits crucial to maintaining social order.[82] Robert Sullivan in *Letters and Lectures on Popular Education* (1842) made the point clearly:

> …if children be not taught the duties of love and obedience to parents, respect and subordination to superiors, the principles of truth and honesty, and, in a word, the precepts and practice of morality, it is better for themselves, and safer for society to leave them entirely uneducated; for bad as ignorance is, education without morality is a thousand times worse.[83]

Elementary education therefore provided "instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live."[84] Kay Shuttleworth, a key figure in English elementary education reform, explained that the education of the children of the poor was "not merely to inform their minds on their duties to God and to man, but to influence their habits and feelings, so that a sense of the true source of all moral and social obligations, might be not merely instilled as a precept on the understanding, but be imbibed from every part of the daily routine in such a way as to influence life."[85] Similarly, Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, contended that the object of education was to form obedient citizens.[86]

Forming obedient citizens meant creating moral subjects. For the Victorians, morality was synonymous with Christianity, as it provided people with the only authoritative and constant rule of moral action. The formation of moral subjects would require an education system based upon Christianity.[87] Consequently, the teacher had to reflect and be committed to the principles and duties of Christianity, given their responsibility for the moral education of their pupils. [88] Hence, certificates of moral character were required for certification in Upper Canada and admission to the National Society training institutions in England. Such certificates, which could only be signed by a recognized Clergyman, described the candidate's moral character and whether the individual was a regular member of the Church.[89] Moreover to counter "thoughtless and reckless" claims that "infidels" were teaching in the schools, statistics on the religious persuasion of each schoolteacher were published in the Chief Superintendent's Annual Reports on Education in Upper Canada.[90]

Ensuring the religious and moral qualifications of the teacher was associated with the teacher's role as moral exemplar. Under proper guidance, the teacher would cultivate the Christian sentiments of benevolence, honesty, humility, veneration and faith in her pupils. The moral habits of order and obedience were considered especially important.[91] Everything the teacher did and said would contribute to the formation of moral habits and character of the child. A local superintendent in Upper Canada wrote: "We are creatures of imitation…and children especially will adopt more of less the habits and manners of those who are placed over them."[92] Likewise, Inspector John Allen in England asserted that children "expect also a sort of perfection in those who are set over them as their guides: most careful, therefore, should we be to do all in our power to avoid that shock to their moral sense which must result from the observation of gross faults in those whom it is their duty to respect."[93] Salzmann's advice, given to teachers in Prussia earlier in the century, was repeated in English and Canadian educational journals in the 1840s: if there was any trouble with his pupils, the

schoolmaster was to "look first for the cause of it in himself…[and] regard his own practice as a model for theirs." [94]

As the schoolmaster stood as the moral exemplar for her pupils, the teacher looked to the Lord as his own role model.[95] The name 'Teacher', suggested one Canadian writer:

> has acquired a peculiar softness, and yet dignity, from its association with Him who was the Great Teacher, who taught as never man taught, spake as never man spake, whose every gesture, as well as His words and actions, were pregnant with the deepest meaning, and told with marvelous effect on His astonished followers. When we view the Lord Jesus surrounded by His disciplines, and think of the meek and Lowly One instructing them to learn of Him, we have then the most perfect example of what the true teacher is.[96]

The schoolteacher was to do the work of his "Master" on earth, acting as a Minister of the Church, by instilling the religious sentiment into the hearts and minds of his pupils. As such an exemplary Christian role model, the schoolmistress would be able to educate her pupils as "God's spiritual Children."[97] Hence, a frequently repeated maxim was "*He that makes a little child happier for half an hour is a co-worker with God.*"[98]

In England, the Churches viewed the elementary school as their 'nursery', and the elementary school teacher as an extension of the parish minister. One clergyman told the local schoolmistress: - "You are managing my nursery. Look up and believe you are working for eternity."[99] The position of teacher was considered "the office of the teacher in a Christian nation…is one of the highest and holiest offices which Almighty God has established on their earth; so that it is not to be an office lightly assumed, or the duties of which can be easily learned."[100] Similar sentiments were expressed in Canada, as the schoolmaster was told he was a "a living code, enlightening the minds, purifying the hearts, and, under God, redeeming the souls of the precious band…to be prepared by you for the solemn and illimitable future."[101] Others viewed the schoolmaster and clergyman as equal companions in the service of God: "Next to the peculiar

Functions of [the Clergyman's] sacred Calling, there is no nobler Work in which he can be engaged than the Education of the young."[102]

As a missionary in the classroom, the teacher's main duty consisted of saving souls by bringing the young to Christ. While the Church Minister may have been responsible for ensuring repentance among sinners, the teacher was expected to "nip it in the bud."[103] One Canadian writer even suggested that teaching was a "god-like exercise" in which like Christ, the teacher fed his "youthful disciples" until their mental and moral appetites were satisfied.[104] Like Christ, the teacher was a shepherd among his flock of children:

> if the teacher, standing at his class, feels that the little ones around him are his flock, whom he by his care and industry may be the means, under the Chief Shepherd, of feeding and guiding to their future and enduring, as well as their present and transitory well being, surely he will have hope and encouragement in his work: as he is intrusted [sic] with a talent of the highest value, he will feel that if he be faithful in the use thereof he will receive at last the highest reward.[105]

Such noble and elevated work characterized the teacher's lifelong mission of truth and civilization.[106] In 1833, Guizot had instructed French public school teachers: "Do not undervalue the importance of your Mission…Be penetrated then, with the importance of your Mission; let its utility be ever present to your mind in the discharge of the difficult duties which it imposes upon you."[107] As a missionary like figure, the good teacher was motivated in his work by a religious sense of duty, having answered a call from God to undertake his moral duties.[108] Hence, many proclaimed the earnestness, zeal and missionary spirit in which teachers discharged their life-long duties.[109]

The good teacher was the practical embodiment of the upright, moral citizen that was sought by school reformers in the population as a whole. For this to happen, the moral teacher had to conform to a set of appropriate standards, attitudes, values and habits. The teacher was expected to be someone of the "unblemished" character and temperament.[110] Correct moral deportment and disposition was most broadly defined within the context of Christian values. The good teacher was therefore a person of "Christian sentiment, of calm temper, and discretion" who was "imbued with

the spirit of peace."[111] Students would learn best from the example of the moral educator who maintained qualities such as patience, gentleness and kindness. The good teacher demonstrated piety, forbearance and faith in the classroom, leading children towards a love of truth, sincerity and just sense of morality.[112]

Above all, the good moral teacher was modest, humble and self-denying. [113] This expectation was particularly important in England, where the idea of 'knowing one's place' figured widely across the social landscape of Victorian society. European study tours of schools inspired by the ideas of Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg, had convinced Canadian and English educational reformers of the necessity of developing in elementary school teachers a patient and humble spirit.[114] Battersea Training Institution in London, England became an exemplar of such principles, as it was intended to provide students "for the discharge of serious duties in the humble sphere, and to nerve their minds for the trails and vicissitudes of life"[115] Humility, self-sacrifice, prudence, simplicity of life and frugality were emphasised throughout the training programme. The diet was frugal; accommodation simple and plain; and pupils engaged in many daily hours of "steady and vigorous labour", including cleaning the school premises, gardening, cooking, and all other domestic duties.[116] Work was to be done for honour's sake, as the good teacher preferred simple, practical and manual work to empty intellectual pursuits, which would render teachers conceited, assuming and "contemptuous towards their social equals."[117] While Battersea epitomised the idea of training the teacher to a life of humility and self-denial, other training institutions, in both England and Canada, adopted this model, albeit to varying degrees.[118] Moreover, rules of propriety, dress and decorum, especially for women training candidates, reflected the idea of the humble and modest teacher.[119]

Besides humility and modesty, other ideas of the good teacher were drawn from Pestalozzi. Teachers who were patient, tender and nurturing were considered especially suited for the education

of working class children. The good teacher showed gentleness and kindness towards their young charges, understanding that sympathy was the key to a child's heart. Knowledge had to be 'poured' into the child gently, and teachers were to safeguard against cramming. For these reasons, teaching required "a quiet, even temper, patience, sympathy, fondness for children, and habitual cheerfulness." [120] On this, Kay Shuttleworth noted that the selection of teachers to the training institutions should take into account "evidence of gentleness of disposition."[121]

Victorian society idealised the role of women as being innately gentle, patient, tender, caring, nurturing, and sympathetic to the special needs of children. In this respect, schoolmistresses were viewed as being especially well suited to the education of the young child. [122] Hence, if there was any praise for the English dame schoolmistress at all, it concerned her kind, motherly influence.[123] Compared to the schoolmaster, the female teacher was much better adapted for the education of young children:

> Male teachers seldom leave their impress clearly marked upon young pupils. They lack the requisite gentleness, the patience and perseverance in little things, the quick discernment of character, the instinctive power to inspire the youthful spirit and arouse its latent powers. Above all, they are destitute of those delicate arts which are so requisite to win the affections of children, to call forth and direct their earliest aspirations, and to impart the needful impulse to their minds. Cheerfulness and enthusiasm, courtesy and kindness, and the power of easy, quiet, unconscious influence, are requisites indispensable to the attractiveness, order and efficiency of the school. Females are endowed with more bountiful share of these desirable qualities."[124]

In particular, due to their motherly instincts, female teachers were better able to function as a parent within the schoolroom. The idea of teacher *in loco parentis* had informed much of the discussion concerning the education of poor children, as it was felt that parents of working class children were incapable of fulfilling their natural roles. To address social and moral problems such as poverty, crime, disease and general disorder, the teacher would be required to take over the role of the parent. For the children of the working classes, the good teacher would provide the loving support and moral guidance that the 'natural' parent could or would not.[125]

As a parent to his scholars, the good teacher was expected to tenderly nurture and care for the growing child. Education of the working classes, in this sense, was comparable to the tilling of land and sowing of seed. [126] The good teacher was required to understand the different dispositions of his pupils "to whose culture is confided the embryo blossoms of the mind; who is carefully to watch their daily growth, and to aid and accelerate their expansion, so that they may yield rich fruit in beauty and abundance."[127] Aiding their growth meant that the good teacher had to "weed, prune, and water" his "tender charge", otherwise weeds and thistles would grow in its place.[128] In this role, the teacher would find much pleasure, watching his 'plant-children' form and mature.[129]

Whether the good teacher represented a kind, caring parent or a nurturing gardener, the most essential qualification was love: love of children and love of teaching.[130] The principle of love should pervade the whole school:

> and the teacher should embrace every opportunity for cultivating the benevolent affections of the children, by acts of kindness and practical lessons of love. Love, like the light of heaven, irradiates and beautifies whatever it touches; fear, like darkness, invests everything with gloom. Love one another is the precept of the Great Teacher. Love is the most powerful principle in our nature…If this principle were fully developed in a school, the child would perform his duty for the love of it, and not from the fear of punishment of the hope of reward.[131]

Love for teaching was a moral qualification, upon which all other principles of teaching were based. Moreover, the loving schoolmaster developed personal and long-lasting relationships with his scholars.[132]

In an article entitled the *Moral Qualifications of the Schoolmaster*, Ross wrote that in order that the "teacher may possess an unfeigned love for his profession, we consider it necessary that he should feel happy in the discharge of his duties."[133] Schools kept by persons fond of their work contained teachers and children of "habitual cheerfulness."[134] A cheerful disposition would create order in the classroom: "In a cheerful hour, we are omnipotent among our children. They hang upon us with their whole heart, they let none of our words fall unheard, they obey our slightest hints."[135]

Humour was another characteristic of the devoted teacher who had her heart in her work. "Wit and humour," wrote Tate, were "like gleams of sunshine, shed gladness and joy over a class of children.[136] A certain spirit of joyfulness and delight pervaded the spirit of the teacher who enjoyed his work:

> He loves his work just because he delights in the exercise of the benevolent affections. His schoolroom is a happy place, because it is the theatre of his good-will, - the place where his kindest and best feelings are developed and exercised. He has emotions there into which "a stranger cannot enter." His relationship to *it*, is distinct from that which belongs to any other locality. It is his own exclusive domain, - the territory within which his influence is paramount. There, every individual is his distinct charge; and as he seeks to stamp upon each the impress of his own mind and character, he finds his rewards in that peculiar blessedness which by the very constitution of human nature, invariable attends the humblest efforts to benefit another.[137]

Learning was pleasurable in these schools, as the teacher cheerfully played with the children, making herself acquainted with their games and activities, and remembering what it was like to be a child again.[138] It was especially within the playground that the teacher could come to really understand the inner nature of the child. According to at least one schoolmaster, the "playground without the teacher is…the engine without the engineer. If you have strength, join in your children's games, and teach them games; it is not beneath the teacher to play with the children…We ought not to be above doing it - nay, it is a branch of our calling, and a truly important one, never to be neglected."[139] Moreover, the playground provided the teacher with perhaps the best opportunities for moral training. An 1840 Chartist pamphlet made this point clearly:

> While much moral instruction may be conveyed in the school-room, the play-ground will be found the best place for *moral training*; where all [the pupil's] faculties will be active, and when their dispositions and feelings will all be displayed in a different manner than when they are in the school-room, where silence, order and discipline should prevail. But when in the playground, the teacher should incite them to amusement and activity, in order to develop their characters.[140]

Formation of moral character was the most essential element in self and school governance. Order could be best maintained in the classroom by establishing an emotional relationship with the scholars, based on moral principles. "A man may keep a difficult schools by means of authority and

physical force; a woman can do it only by dignity of character, affection, such a superiority in attainment as is too conspicuous to be questioned."[141] In this respect, the female teacher was viewed as being in a superior position to the schoolmaster, as they were particularly adept at using moral suasion in school government. [142]

Preventive rather than coercive measures were to be used to produce order. The good teacher exercised discipline in the classroom in a kind and judicious manner; motivated first by duty and then affection.[143] During their lessons on classroom management, students at the *Normal School for Upper Canada* were instructed to "Let your words be few and not fault-finding…The admonitions will be good or bad according to whether they love and respect you. If you are disliked your scolding and praises are neither any good. Love your pupils and they will love you."[144] In every respect, order was to be produced in the classroom not by fear, but by love. The teacher was to appeal to moral authority, and rule by kindness and loving regard for her pupils.[145] The teacher who loved his pupils, would in turn, be loved by them. Such a teacher did not have to tell his pupils that he loved them, rather, he was told:

> They will read it in your face…and have the assurance of it in the tone of your voice, in your smile, in the manner, and in your actions – all of which speak "louder than words." Let your pupils feel that you care for them, that you take an interest in all that concerns them, that you are their sincere and unselfish friend, that you sympathize with them in all their little sorrows, and share with them all their little joys; then you will have found the true key to their hearts.[146]

The teacher who found the way into the hearts of his pupils, was able to do so because he possessed the characteristics deemed most suitable for the moral subject. As a humble, modest and selfless individual, he embraced the principles and duties of Christianity. Finally, in the quest to fulfill the moral object of elementary education, the moral teacher was motivated by complete love for his tender charges.

Conclusion

The image of the early nineteenth century teacher can be viewed within the context of what British and colonial Canadian society considered the worst characteristics of the population as a whole. Inspector Mitchell had found that the lowest class of England's day schools were composed of "persons, broken in character, health, or morals."[147] Similarly, one critic noted that within some of the Common Schools of Upper Canada, "we have persons notoriously ruined in morals and fortune."[148] Immorality, ill fortune and poor health were inextricably linked. The immoral teacher was an itinerant pedagogue who engaged in such activities as gambling, fighting, smoking and drinking. And while engaging in more than one occupation at the same time was considered immoral in England, laziness and lack of patriotism were particular signs of immorality in Canada.[149]

Furthermore, the early nineteenth century teacher was an ignorant and incompetent individual. He knew little or nothing of the basic subject matter, and in some cases was completely illiterate. Disorder reigned in the classrooms of such teachers, given their ignorance over pedagogic principles and practices. Such a teacher lacked system and method, and unwisely resorted to the use of corporal punishment in the vain attempt to maintain order. Despite ignorance and incompetence, these were conceited individuals. In Upper Canada, these 'empty pretenders', cared more about their stipend, than with the education of those placed under their care.[150] English inspectors decried the pretence among English teachers as well. "Conceit" wrote one critic "seems a peculiar feature in the character of schoolmasters."[151]

Against the negative image of the early nineteenth century teacher, the paradoxical image of the modern and moral teacher emerged. The main characteristics of the moral and modern teacher comprised the concept of 'teaching power.'[152] Broadly speaking, there were two sets of features, which constituted teaching power: the knowledge and the personal characteristics considered most appropriate for the teacher. The teacher was expected to use the tools of philosophy and science to study human nature, including the science of the mind and the other physical and moral faculties.

She was to engage in active study of progressive teaching methods, pedagogic principles and practices, and her subject matter. Hence, philosophical, pedagogic and didactical knowledge comprised the knowledge attainments considered appropriate for the modern teacher. However, teaching power was also derived from the character and disposition of the teacher. Personal qualities of the teacher who possessed 'teaching power' included a sense of duty and calling, love and enthusiasm for teaching, great patience, gentleness, kindness and fondness of children, forbearance and faith, and above all, a humble Christian character.[153] With this emphasis on the personal character of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress, the moral teacher as subject emerges.

In writing a history of teachers from a genealogical perspective, the focus has shifted away from the individual or collective subject that moves history progressively forward, to the endless playing out of dominations.[154] Through disciplinary technologies located in the classroom, the training colleges and the wider community, the teacher as subject is constituted as a modern and moral individual. This type of history avoids the search for deeper, underlying meaning. Meaning can only be discovered in surface practices, such as the seemingly contradictory requirement that teachers thoughtfully read complex books on philosophic and pedagogic matters, and rise at 6 a.m. in training colleges to begin a humble day's work of 'steady and vigorous labour.' It is here within these simple practices, where rituals of power take place that the teacher as subject, one who is subjected, emerges.

Reason and morality struggle to define the elementary school teacher, resulting in an unstable and fragmented subject. Herein lies the paradox of the moral and modern teacher. For at once this teacher was to be elevated above the working classes, and educated to be an expert in philosophical, pedagogic and didactical knowledge. Here was the noble philosopher whose work was informed by the Enlightenment potential for reason and rationality. Yet the teacher was also expected to remain humble, modest and self-denying. He was trained to a life of self-sacrifice, prudence and simplicity.

The gentle, kind and loving teacher, while positioned on equal footing to the clergy, played with the child in order locate the key to her pupil's hearts and her own soul. It was love and affection, not reason and rationality that motivated the moral teacher.

This genealogy has left exposed the discontinuities, contradictions and tensions which comprised the identity of the good teacher. Constructing a teacher who was expected to reflect the Enlightenment commitment to science, reason and progress, as well as moral Christian sentiments of humility and self-sacrifice reflected the tensions underlying the larger educational reform discourse. In other words, competing versions of what constituted the ideal teacher reflected broader contradictory tensions that characterized Victorian society as a whole. Victorian society contained its own internal struggles to reconcile traditional faith in the principles of the Established Church with the forces of modernity. The middle of the century witnessed an uproar in England over the results of the 1851 Census which indicated that the majority of the working classes were not attending Church, while at the same time Darwin's Origins of Species was published and the wheels of industrial progress reflected a commitment to the Enlightenment principles of science, reason and rationality. Such were the times in which the teacher as subject emerged in England.

But what can be said about the colony of Upper Canada? Was it merely a reflection of the mother country? No. For the ideas that informed the development of the education system in Canada, and thus the construction of the identity of the teacher came not entirely from England, but from the United States, Scotland, Ireland and continental Europe. With the project of education system building, the teacher had become an object of significant social concern in numerous western countries. Philosophical and pedagogic ideas circulated widely through the nineteenth century western world, with the publication of books and magazines on such matters, and travel amongst reformers who studied foreign educational system with an aim to improving their own. Thus, while this paper has made reference to two particular countries, much the same story could be told with

reference to the genealogy of the teacher in nineteenth century United States, Scotland, France, Prussia and Switzerland. The ideas which informed the modern and moral teacher were not specific to England. They were refracted in different contexts in varying ways, but ultimately the tension that characterized the teacher as subject remained.

"The world is not a play which simply masks a truer reality that exists behind the scenes," write Dreyfus and Rabinow, "It is as it appears. This is the profundity of the genealogists's insight."[155] In this way, there are no profound explanations to be drawn through this type of research. Rather, following the work of Freud, Marx and Nietzsche, who diagnosed the discontents and disillusionments of western society, this paper has attempted to present a diagnosis of nineteenth century society through a genealogy of the elementary school teacher. The identity of the teacher mirrored the struggle between tradition and modernity that characterized the Victorian age. There is no prescription in this type of history, merely a diagnosis. However, comparative historical research which draws upon the tools of discourse analysis is relevant not only to the past, but to the present as well. Perhaps the best rationale then for undertaking comparative historical research is that it allows us to disturb and shake up that which we recognize as given. The task of inquiry, according to Rose, is to disturb "that which forms the groundwork of the present, to make once more strange and to cause us to wonder how it came to appear so natural."[156] This paper has shown that the characteristics of the ideal teacher have not always remained the same. The teacher today is not viewed as essentially a modern and moral subject. Hence, for those engaged in contemporary educational reform, it is beneficial to recall that conceptions of the good teacher, the good school, and more broadly the good education system, can and do change. History shows us that things have not always been as they are now, and consequently need not remain as they are. Shaking up our taken for granted assumptions is therefore one of the most compelling reasons for reinventing the historical in comparative education.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

[1] (1848a), *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*. (Hereafter JEUC), (Vol. 1). Toronto., March, vol. 1, no. 3, 87.

[2] Henry Dunn, Esquire (Secretary to the British Foreign School Society) in Select Committee. (1835), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence). London: Select Committee of Council on Education., 45.

[3] In Canada, the development of a centrally controlled education system for the masses accompanied the building of the Canadian state. In contrast to most other western nations, the process of state formation did not accompany the construction of the elementary education system in England, which was first the responsibility of the Churches and their voluntary societies before the State became tentatively involved. Comparison is made between these two 'countries' to illustrate that, despite the differences in the construction of mass elementary education in England and the colony of Upper Canada, the discourse of educational reform contained striking similarities.

[4] Generally speaking, this paper is concerned with teachers in a range of schools, variously known as private, adventurer or 'Common Day' schools, which comprised the majority of schools for poor, working class children.

[5] According to Foucault, discourses are composed of "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak... they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention." Foucault, M. (1972), *The Archaeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books., 49.

[6] Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, Charles Duncombe. Address before the House of Assembly, 1831 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (Hereafter DHE). Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. vol. 3 (1843), 130.

[7] Prime Minister Macaulay. Speech, 19 April 1847. House of Commons. (1847), Plan of Education, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (Vol. XCI, pp. 947-1032). London., columns 1016-1017.

[8] *Inquiry into The State of Education in the Counties of Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke and Especially into the Means Afforded to the Labouring Classes of Acquiring the English Language*, July 1847 by Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen in Parliamentary Papers. (1847b), Reports from Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in the Counties of Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke and Especially into the Means Afforded to the Labouring Classes of Acquiring the English Language,, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXVII -Part I, pp. 3-500). London., 37.

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Josiah Wilkinson, Esquire. Assistant Commissioner (Metropolitan Districts) in Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London. pt. iii, 394.

[9] Public Archives of Canada, Educational Papers, P.C. Campbell to Arthur, 4 September 1839. Quoted in Wilson, J. D. (1974), 'The Teacher in Early Ontario'. In F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (eds), *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (pp. 218-236). Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 224.

Also see:
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"A Canuck". (1905), *Early Pioneer Life in Upper Canada*. Toronto: William Briggs., 74-75.

[10] On England see:
Coleridge, D. (1842), 'A Letter on the National Society's training-college for schoolmasters, Stanley Grove, Chelsea: addressed to the Rev. John Sinclair, Secretary of the Society'. *Tracts on Education, 11*, 1-43., 6.
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Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt. ii, 427; *Manchester Statistical Society Report*, 1873, 19.

On Canada see: Canuck (1905), Op Cit., 74-75; Palemon. (1815), Op Cit Letter 2.

[11] Harkness, A. (1896), *Iroquois High School 1845-1895: A Story of Fifty Years*. Toronto: William Briggs., 13.

[12] Three thousand old, discharged soldiers (otherwise known as Commuted Pensioners) came to the North American colony between 1832-33: "Many of them spent the amount of their commutation money in debauchery, or were robbed of it when intoxicated... Many of them sold their right of the land for a mere trifle, and were left, within a few weeks of their arrival, in a state of absolute want. Of the whole number who landed in the colony, probably not one in three attempted to establish themselves on their grants, and not one in six remain settled there at the present time; the remainder generally lingered in the vicinity of the principal towns, where they contrived to pick up a subsistence by begging and occasional labour." Durham, Lord of (1839), *The Report and Despatches of The Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner and Governor General of British North America*. London: Ridgways., 189.

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[13] Report by HMI of Schools, H.G. Bowyer, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions in the Eastern and Midland Districts of England, for the year 1847-8 in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London., 119; J.M. Hare, Esquire. Assistant Commissioner (Maritime Districts) in Education Commission. (1861c), *Op Cit*, 295 ; Reverend M.Mitchell. Report on the Day Schools in Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk and Suffolk, 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 265,283; Evidence of Patrick Cumin, Esquire (Maritime Districts), in Education Commission. (1861c), *Op Cit*, pt. ii, 85; Evidence of W.F.Lloyd in Select Committee. (1834), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence, etc. 1-262). London: Select Committee of Council on Education., 106; Letter to the Editor, 5 June 1835 in (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 62; "Account of the School at Failand Lodge" by Agricola in (1840a), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 115.

[14] Gardner, P. W. (1984), *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England*. Kent: Coom Helm., 120.
Manchester Statistical Society. (1836b), *Report of a committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Borough of Salford in 1835*. London: James Ridgway and Son., 8. Evidence of Mr. John Snell, Education Commission. (1861a), *Answers to Circular Questions* (V). London., 400; Evidence of Reverend W. Johnson, Clerical Superintendent of the National Society, in Select Committee. (1834) Op Cit, 10; Wardle, D. (1976), *English Popular Education, 1780-1975*. London: Cambridge University Press., 102.

[15] With the exception of old, discharged soldiers, it would have been difficult for someone who was considerably older and in poorer health, to immigrate to British North America. Further, there was little incentive for qualified teachers to emigrate to Canada. John McGregor discouraged the possible emigration of teachers to Canada – unless they had a prior contract before sailing. He predicted that nine out of ten would end up farming, rather than teaching. McGregor, John. (1832) *British America* Edinburgh: William Blackwood. Vol I, 484 in Zieman, M. (1968), 'Education in Upper Canada as Reported in Travel Accounts'. *Queen's Quarterly, LXXV*, 511-525. 525.

[16] On England see:
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[17] Campbell to Arthur, 4 September 1839. Op Cit.

[18] In most of the small, private schools, parents and teachers were engaged in an independent financial arrangement, and together determined the rate of pay, per month, for each child. Annual salaries for elementary school teachers ranged, depending on the type and location of school, number of pupils, the poverty of their pupils' parents, and whether or not the teacher was male or female, but they were generally much lower than that of a common labourer.

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[19] Manchester Statistical Society. (1836a), *Report of a committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Borough of Liverpool in 1835*. London: James Ridgway and Son., 20.

Public Archives of Canada, *Education Papers*, William Cosgrave to Colborne, 15 Dec 1828 quoted in Wilson, J. D. (1974), 'The Teacher in Early Ontario'. In F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (eds), *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (pp. 218-236). Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 223.

[20] Education Reports: Manchester Statistical Society. (1836a), *Op Cit*., 18; Manchester Statistical Society. (1835a), *Op Cit*., 5., Manchester Statistical Society. (1836b), *Op Cit*., 6; Select Committee on Education. (1838) Op Cit., 277, 308.
Evidence of Assistant Commissioners A.F. Foster,(Mining Districts), J.M. Hare, Esquire and Patrick Cumin, Esquire (Maritime Districts), Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt. iii, 85, 295, 336.

Inspectors' Reports: Report by HMI of Schools, T.B. Browne, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions inspected in the Northern Districts of England for the year 1847-8 in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London., 169; Report on the Day Schools throughout England and Wales, on the Principles of the British and Foreign School Society, which have received Aid from Parliamentary Grants, by Joseph Grant, Esquire in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 280.

Other:
Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1862), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862*. London: Harvester Press., 474.

[21] On England see:
Pigott, D. (1987), 'Problems of staffing the nineteenth-century rural school in England: a regional case study'. *History of Education, 16*. 29-48., 41.

Patrick Cumin, Esquire. Assistant Commissioner (Maritime Districts) Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt iii, 85.

On Canada see: Report of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1860 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *DHE*. vol. 16 (1860), 148.
Quoted in the "Chief Superintendent's Annual Report on the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools in Ontario, for the year 1870" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *DHE*. vol.22 (1869-1871), 279; Fraser, R. J. (1959), *As Others See Us - Scots of the Seaway Valley*. Beamsville, Ontario., 126.

[22] In 1840, the Statistical Society claimed that "few circumstances tend more fully to reveal the defective character of this class of schools than that of their very ephemeral nature." 'Birmingham'. April 1840. *Journal of the Statistical Society*: 40. Quoted in Gardner, P. W. (1984), Op Cit, 127; Rev. W. Warburton, on Church of England Schools in the Counties of Berks, Wilts, and Hants and the Isle of Wight, 1858 in Parliamentary Papers. (1859), Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1858-9, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXI, Pt 1). London., 118.

[23] *Kingston Gazette*, 12 Feb 1811; Provincial Archives of Ontario; Hodgins Collection, letter signed 'Seth' addressed to Mr. Miles (editor) of the *Kingston Gazette*, 29 Nov 1815; J.M. Flindall, "Essay on Education in Upper Canada" *Kingston Gazette*, 1818 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *DHE*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. (1846), vol 1, 133; William Lyon Mackenzie King. "Sketches of Canada and the United States". London: 1833 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *DHE*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. vol 2 (1831-1836), 122 and 346.

[24] Despite the requirement of the 1816 *Common School Act* that teachers be British subjects by birth or take the Oath of Allegiance, American born teachers tended to be common in Upper Canadian schools throughout the century. This was not unsurprising, given that a considerable number of all Upper Canadians had been born in the United States themselves. In 1800, half of the population of Upper Canada were United Empire Loyalists (those remaining 'loyal' to the British Crown, having fled the American Revolution. Phillips, C. E. (1957), *The Development of Education in Canada*. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company., 98.

[25]Dr. Thomas Rolph, writing about the state of schooling in Upper Canada in 1836 observed that:
" It is really melancholy to traverse the Province, and go into many of the common schools; you find a herd of children, instructed by some anti-British adventurer, instilling into their young and tender minds sentiments hostile to the parent state; false accounts of the late war in which Great Britain was engaged with US: geography setting forth New York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c, as the largest and finest cities in the world; historical reading books describing the American population as the most free and enlightened under Heaven; insisting on the superiority of their laws and institutions, to those of all the world, in defiance of the Agrarian outrages and mob supremacy daily witnessed and lamented; and American spelling -books, dictionaries, and grammar, teaching them an anti-British dialect and idiom." Rolph, T. (1836), *Op Cit*, 262.

Also see:
Bishop Macdonell to Bathurst, 10 January 1817 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1911), *Historical Educational Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario*. (Vol. i). Toronto: L.K. Cameron., vol 1, (1841),10-11; Jameson, A. B. (1838), *Winter studies and summer rambles in Canada*. London: Saunders and Otley., 183; Appendix to *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada*, 1839-40, vol 2, p 341; A.W.B.

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McDougall to Ryerson, June 2nd 1849 in Public Archives of Ontario. (1849), Incoming General Correspondence Files Department of Education. Toronto; Christopher McAlpin to Ryerson, January 23, 1850 in Public Archives of Ontario. (1850), Incoming General Correspondence FilesDepartment of Education. Toronto., Educational Proceedings of the Upper Canada Legislature, 1832- 33 in DHE, vol. ii (1831-1834) and vol. iii (1836-1840), 291; c.f. vol iii, 277.

[26] Sanderson, Charles R. (1943) *The Arthur papers : being the papers mainly confidential, private, and demi-official of Sir George Arthur in the manuscript collection of the Toronto Public Libraries*. Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries; Public Archives of Canada, *Education Papers*, William Cosgrave to Colborne, 15 Dec 1828 quoted in Wilson, J. D. (1974), Op Cit (pp. 218-236). Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 223.

[27] On England see:
Notice and admonition to John Charville preserved at Cambridge Record Office, P. 17/25/12.
Angela Black, *Guide to Education Records in the County Record Office*, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely County Council, 1972, 25; Report on the Elementary Schools of the Midlands District, by the Reverend Henry Moseley, for the year 1846 in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 93; Manchester Statistical Society. (1835b), *Report of a committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Borough of Manchester in 1834*. London: James Ridgway and Son., 13.

On Upper Canada see: General Morality of Teachers in to the Board of the School Trustees (Toronto) by the Chairman January 21, 1852 in Public Schools, C. o. T. (1859), *Report of the Past History, and Present Condition, of the Common or Public Schools of the City of Toronto*. Toronto: City of Toronto., 44; "Educational Proceedings of the County Councils" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. vol. 13 (1855-1856), 71; Campbell, P.C. to Arthur, 4 September 1839. *Public Archives of Canada, Educational Papers*. Op Cit..
Kingston Gazette 16, 23 and 30 April 1811 in Houston, S. E. and Prentice, A. (1988), *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 64; *Picton Traveller* 21 October 1836, p. 3 in Ibid.

[28] Quoted in Sturt, M. (1967), *The education of the people: A history of primary education in England and Wales in the nineteenth century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul., 40.
See also: Manchester Statistical Society. (1835b), *Op Cit*, 13.; Manchester Statistical Society. (1836a),*Op Cit*., 18; Evidence of Rev. Hutchinson to Assistant Commissioner Cumin, Esquire in Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt iii, 151.

[29]Campbell, P.C. to Arthur, 4 September 1839. *Public Archives of Canada, Educational Papers*. Op Cit; Fraser, R. J. (1959), *As Others See Us - Scots of the Seaway Valley*. Beamsville, Ontario., 126; Shirreff, P. (1835), *A Tour through North America, Canada and the United States*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd., 199.

[30] Kay-Shuttleworth wrote that "the profession of the educator has fallen into the hands of persons who are destitute of means, not merely from want of ability, but from defects of character and who resort to this calling after they have been provide to be unfit for any other." Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1839), 'Recent Measures for the promotion of education in England'. In Kay-Shuttleworth (ed.), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 187-286). Brighton: Harvester Press., 61-62.

On England also see: Report by HMI of Schools, T.B. Browne, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions inspected in the Northern Districts of England for the years 1847-48 in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London., 160; Evidence of Mr. James Riddall Wood in Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*., 291; Letter to the Editor of the Educational Magazine (1840a), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 272-3; "Bell and Lancaster Systems", No. 23, Oct. 10, 1829, vol. ii in (1829), *The Schoolmaster*. (Vol. I (1825-1831)). London., 238.

On Canada see: (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 436-437; "The Memorial of the Municipal Council of the Gore District to the Legislative Assembly, on the Subject of Common Schools, 8 February 1848" Public Archives of Ontario. (1848), Incoming General Correspondence Files Department of Education. Toronto; Memorial of M. Burwell on the Subject of Education, 1835. *Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, Appendix No. 58, in Gidney, R. D. (1975), 'Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment'. In M. B. Katz and P. H. Mattingly (eds), *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past* (pp. 3-27). New York: New York University Press., 15; Minutes 1840-1 p 163-164. Quoted in Johnson, R. (1970), 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England'. *Past and Present*, 96-119., 114.

[31] On England see: Report on the Day Schools of Gloucester, Hereford, Onmount, Oxford, Warwick and Worcester by Reverend H.W. Bellairs, 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 113; Report on the Day Schools throughout England and Wales, on the Principles of the British and Foreign School Society, which have received Aid from Parliamentary Grants, by Joseph Fletcher, Esquire in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 303; Reverend M. Mitchell. Report on the Day Schools in Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk and Suffolk, 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 265,283; Report on the Day Schools of Chester, Salop and Stafford by Reverend J.P. Norris in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 482; Report on the Training of Pauper Children, and on the Schools of Parochial Unions throughout Wales and England, by Jelinger C. Symons, Esquire, HMI of Schools, 1848 in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London., 246; Manchester Statistical Society. (1835a), *Op Cit*., 7; Evidence of Henry Althans, Inspector of Schools in London for the British and Foreign School Society, in Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*., 307; Report on 138 Schools in the Western District, by the Rev. H.W. Bellairs, Feb. 1845 in Parliamentary Papers. (1845), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-44, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-334). London., 111.

On Canada see J. Brockhill, Local superintendent to Ryerson, 29 March 1858 in Public Archives of Ontario. (1858), Incoming General Correspondence FilesDepartment of Education. Toronto.

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[32] A few accounts exist of the use of corporal punishment amongst schoolmistresses, although they were the exception rather than the rule. At the Webb Schools for Young Ladies in Galt, Upper Canada, the school rules were enforced with the aid of dunce's cap, back-board and taws. Lizars, R. a. K. M. (1896), *In the Days of the Canada Company: The Story of the Settlement of the Huron Tract and a View of the Social Life of the Period 1825-1850*. Toronto: William Briggs., 347.
More often than not, dames in England displayed little activity in both instruction and coercion, resorting to mental punishment instead. Rather, schoolmistresses tended to view the threat of corporal punishment as much more effective than the actual use of it. J.P. Kay, Esquire, Evidence to the Select Committee. (1835), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence). London: Select Committee of Council on Education ,3; Higginson, J. H. (1939), *The Dame Schools of Great Britain*. Unpublished M.A , University of Leeds, Leeds.,41, 56, 60.

[33] Manchester Statistical Society. (1836a), *Op Cit*., 15; John Allen, Nov. 24, 1840 Report on Schools in Mining Districts of Durham and Northumberland Parliamentary Papers. (1841), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1840-1, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XX, pp. 1-110). London., 53; Report by the Rev. John Allen on the State of Several Schools in the Counties of Chester, Derby, and Lancaster (20 May 1841) in Parliamentary Papers. (1842), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-2, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1-286). London., 103; Rev. J. Allen on the Endowed School at Yaxley, Huntingdonshire in Parliamentary Papers. (1843), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XL, pp. 217-670). London., 220; Report on the Day Schools throughout England and Wales, on the Principles of the British and Foreign School Society, which have received Aid from Parliamentary Grants, by Joseph Fletcher, Esquire in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 303; Report on the Elementary Schools of the Midland Districts, by the Reverend Henry Moseley, in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 96; Report on the State of Elementary Education in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and several other towns in Lancashire, Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, Oct. 21, 1840 in Parliamentary Papers. (1841), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1840-1, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XX, pp. 1-110). London., 72; Rev. Frederick Watkins, General Report on Schools in the Northern Districts for the year 1846, in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 181-208.

[34] Briggs, W. (1896), 'Schools and Teachers'. In D. Boyle (ed.), *The Township of Scarboro 1796-1896*. Toronto: William Briggs.,178, 183.

[35] Bannister, R. *The British Canadian*, Simcoe: 30 December 1896, 131; Canuck Op Cit.. , 76; Fraser, R. J. (1959), *As Others See Us - Scots of the Seaway Valley*. Beamsville, Ontario., 126; Lizars, R. a. K. M. (1896), *In the Days of the Canada Company: The Story of the Settlement of the Huron Tract and a View of the Social Life of the Period 1825-1850*. Toronto: William Briggs., 347.

[36] On England see:
Education and Other Reports
Evidence of John Caldwell and Mr. James Riddall Wood, Select Committee. (1835), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence). London: Select Committee of Council on Education., 28, 50.
Evidence of Mr. James Riddall Wood, in Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*, 274.
Manchester Statistical Society. (1835b),*Op Cit*., 19; Manchester Statistical Society. (1835a), *Op Cit*., 7, 12-13; Manchester Statistical Society. (1836b),*Op Cit*., 7-8; Manchester Statistical Society. (1836a), *Op Cit*., 24; Evidence of Assistant Commissioner J.M. Hare, Esquire (Maritime Districts) and Dr. Hodgson (Metropolitan Districts)Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt. iii, 295, 494.; Coleridge, D. (1842), Op Cit., *11*, 1-43., 5; J.P. Kay, Esq., evidence, Select Committee. (1835), *Op Cit*., 3.

Inspectors' Reports:
Rev. J. Allen on the Schools in Derbyshire in Parliamentary Papers. (1843), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XL, pp. 217-670). London., 227; Henry Althans, Inspector of Schools in London for the British and Foreign School Society, in Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*., 309; Report on 138 Schools in the Western District, by the Rev. H.W. Bellairs, Feb. 1845 in Parliamentary Papers. (1845), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-44, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-334). London., 111; Report by HMI of Schools, H.G. Bowyer, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions in the Eastern and Midland Districts of England, for the year 1847-48, 119; Report by HMI of Schools, T. B .Browne, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions inspected in the Northern Districts of England for the year 1847-48; Report by HMI Joshua Ruddock, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions in the Southern District of England for the year 1847-8; The above three in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London.; Report on the Elementary Schools of the Midland Districts, by the Reverend Henry Moseley, in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 96; Report on Schools in the Northern District by the Rev. Frederick Watkins in Parliamentary Papers. (1846), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1845, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXII). 298.

On Canada, education and other reports include: Durham, L (1839) Op Cit., 25; Sir George Arthur, 1840. "Remarks on the State of Education in the Province of Canada", in Althouse, J. G. (1967), *The Ontario Teacher: A Historical Account of Progress, 1800-1910*. Toronto., 7; "From Appendix to Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1839-40, vol 2, 341; Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1835, Appendix No. 58, Memorial of M. Burwell on the Subject of Education, Op Cit, 15; Fraser, R. J. (1866), *Schools Inquiry Commissions Report to the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty to Inquire into the Education given in Schools in England not Comprised within her Majesty's two Recent Commissions ...on the Common School System of the United States and of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada*. London.; Fraser, R. J. (1959), *As Others See Us - Scots of the Seaway Valley*. Beamsville, Ontario., 126; Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal. in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter., vol. 6 (1846), 199.

Trustees and Inspectors' Reports include: Public Archives of Canada, Educational Papers, *Report of Common School Trustees*, Eastern District, 9 December 1828; Thomas Donnelly, District Superintendent of Common Schools in Prince Edward County, 1845 Report.

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Hannette Pirrhez , District Superintendent of Common Schools in Dalhousie County, 1845 Report, *Public Archives of Ontario – Reports of District Superintendents, 1845*, Charles Eliot, Superintendent of the Western District to Ryerson, 20 August, 1844 in Public Archives of Ontario. (1844), Incoming General Correspondence Department of Education. Toronto.; Patrick Thornton, Superintendent of Gore District – to Ryerson, 21 August 1844 in Public Archives of Ontario. (1844), Incoming General Correspondence Department of Education. Toronto.

Newspaper articles/letters include:
Kingston Gazette, 12 February 1811 and letter from 'Seth' to the editor of the *Kingston Gazette*, 29 November 1815. Both quoted in Wilson, J. D. (1974), 'The Teacher in Early Ontario'. In F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (eds), *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (pp. 218-236). Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 220.
Canuck", A. (1905), *Early Pioneer Life in Upper Canada*. Toronto: William Briggs., 74-76.
Palemon. Op Cit., Letter 2.
Sir George Arthur, 1840. "Remarks on the State of Education in the Province of Canada", in Althouse, J. G. (1967), *The Ontario Teacher: A Historical Account of Progress, 1800-1910*. Toronto., 7.
"From Appendix to Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1839-40, vol 2, p 341

[37] William Sutton, Superintendent Victoria District, Belleville, March 30th 1846 in RG 2-22 Dept of Ed, No. 1, Public Archives of Ontario.

[38] Parliamentary Papers. (1847b), Op Cit, pt ii, 29.

[39] Evidence of Assistant Commissioner J.S. Winder (Manufacturing Districts) Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., 208.

[40] On England see:
Reverend J. Allen on the Endowed School at Yaxley, Huntingdonshire in Parliamentary Papers. (1843), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-3, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XL, pp. 217-670). London., 219.
Report on Schools in the Mining Districts by John Allen Parliamentary Papers. (1845), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-44, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-334). London., 5.
Report by Reverend H.W. Bellairs on Schools in Gloucester, Hereford, Oxford, Warwick and Worcester in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 100-113.
Evidence of Assistant Commissioner A.F. Foster (Mining Districts) in Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt. ii, 336.
Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1841), Op Cit,, 296.
Manchester Statistical Society. (1835a),*Op Cit.*, 5.
Report of Rev. M. Mitchell on Schools in Cambridge, Essex, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Suffolk in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 265, 298-316.
Report of HMI Jelinger C.Symons in Parliamentary Papers. (1847b), Op Cit,ii, 29.

On Canada, see:
Danylewycz, M. and Prentice, A. (1986), 'Teachers' Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth Century Central Canada'. *Labour/Le Travail, 17*, 59-80., 69.
A.W. Wright, Pioneer Days in Nichol. Mount Forest Editor, 1924. Quoted in Althouse, J. G. (1967), *The Ontario Teacher: A Historical Account of Progress, 1800-1910*. Toronto., 9.

[41] Fraser, R. J. (1959), *Op Cit.*.,126.

"Thus the lame and the lazy, because they will work cheap, are entrusted with the formation of the minds of our youth, who will, to a certain extent, copy their Masters, and although their bodies may not limp, their minds will be both sluggish and deformed." Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (hereafter DHE) Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter., vol. Ii (1831-1836), 307.

Also see :
Duncombe, Charles. 1836 Report on the State of Education in Upper Canada in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. ii (1831-1836), 307.
Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review, 24 March 1838. Quoted in Wilson, J. D. (1974), 'The Teacher in Early Ontario'. In F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (eds), *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (pp. 218-236). Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 224.
Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. Ii (1831-1836), 307.
Thompson, F.F. 'Reflections upon Education in the Midlands Districts, 1810-1816,' *Historic Kingston* 11 (March 1963) in Houston, S. E. and Prentice, A. (1988), *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 70.

[42] Thompson, F.F. 'Reflections upon Education in the Midlands Districts, 1810-1816,' *Historic Kingston* 11 (March 1963) in Houston, S. E. and Prentice, A. (1988), *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press., 70.

[43] (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., November, 432.

[44] For example, Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, advised teachers not to waste their time with foolish books, but to read books by great philosophers and moralists.
"Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada (Being the Introductory Lecture of the Season, before the Mechanics Institute of Niagara and Toronto, delivered…by the Reverend Dr. Ryerson" in *The Niagara Mail*, February 6, 1850, vol. Iv, no. 45. (Reprinted from the *Journal of Education*)

Dunn, an English Teacher Training Institution Master of Method bemoaned the fact that English training colleges considered these philosophical texts too difficult for teachers to read. Dunning (1854b), op. cit., 336; Fraser (1861), op.cit., 132; *Names of School Books (Published by Messrs. Longman &*

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Co.) Placed on the List of School-books of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, listed in Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 339-340; 'On Methods of Teaching' in (1851a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. V). London: George Bell. (1851), 415.

A few examples of popular nineteenth century literature on phrenology include: Combe, G. *Lectures on Popular Education, delivered to the Edinburgh Philosophical Association for procuring instruction in useful and entertaining science, in April and November, 1833*. (Boston,1839 and London,1848); Hodgson, Rev Joseph S., *Consideration of Phrenology in Connexion with an intellectual, moral, and religious education*. (London, 1839); Jennings, James, An Inquiry concerning the Nature and Operations of the Human Mind, in which the science of phrenology, the doctrine of necessity, punishment, and education, are particularly considered. London 1828; Simpson, James, The Philosophy of Education, with its practical application to a system and plan of Popular Education as a National Object. (Edinburgh, 1836) 2nd edition; Spurzheim, J. G. *A View of the Elementary Principles of education, founded on the study of the nature of man*. (Edinburgh, 1821; 2nd ed. London, 1828); Warne, Joseph, *Phrenology in the family, or the utility of phrenology in early domestic education*. (Boston, n.d., Reprinted from 2nd U.S. ed. London, 1843).

[45] For example, articles in the 1835 and 1836 volumes of the Educational Magazine on this topic included: 'Report of a lecture by Dr. Bryce on the Science of Education ' (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill.,95; 'Education as a Science: Hints and Suggestions' by Charles Thorold Wood (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., (November, 1836), 417; 'The Necessity for Education to be Founded on a Science of Mind' by CJ Saffell, (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill. (November, 1835), 439 - 447; 'Psycho-logy: or a Treatise on the Actions and Circumstances Marking the Moments of the Development of the Faculties of a Child', (1836), *Educational Magazine (Jan.-April)*. (Vol. III). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 56; 'Craniology, or Phrenology, Not the True Science of Mind. By a Physician', *Educational Magazine* (January 1836),17. The last article, was critiqued in the following issue by a doctor who concluded that the science of the mind was likely to prove quite useful. See 'Prenology and Education: By a Member of the Royal College of Physicians' in (1836), *Educational Magazine (Jan.-April)*. (Vol. III). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., (February 1836), 169.

[46] Tate wrote: "No man ever yet became a great teacher, until method had become in him a living and substantial reality." Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 17. The Canadian educator was also instructed to study the principles of the teaching profession that lie deep in the philosophy of his nature. 'The Art of Teaching' in (1851b), *The JEUC*. (Vol. IV). Toronto., no. 4, 52.

[47] G.C., 'The Educator's Instruments - Hints on Method' in (1856a), *The Educator; or, Home, the School, and the Teacher. The Quarterly Journal of the Congregational Board of Education*. (Hereafter *The Educator*) (Vol. II). London: Ward & Co.(London, 1856), vol. ii, 5; 'Know Your Pupils' in (1858), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. XII). London: George Bell., vol. XII, December 1st, 46; Viney, (1854b), *The Educator* (Vol. I). London: Ward & Co., 221-222; 'Laying Foundations - The Teacher' in (1850b), *The JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., no. 8, 130; 'The Art of Teaching' in (1850b), *The JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., no. 4, 52; 'Schoolroom Duality', by T.A. in *English Pupil Teacher* quoted in (1863), *JEUC*. (Vol. XVI). Toronto., no. 11, 168.

[48] Sources from England include
Dean of Hereford. 'Suggestive Hints.' Quoted in *On Teaching Power* in (1852a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. VI). London: George Bell., 409, 411; G.C. Drew, 'The Educator's Instruments - Hints on Method' in (1856a), *The Educator*. (Vol. II). London: Ward & Co.,vol. ii, 5; 'Fondness for Teaching' in the *English Journal of Education*. Reprinted in the (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., 1857, no 2, 24; 'Method, and the Principles of Teaching"(1850a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. IV). London: George Bell., vol. iv, 109; 'On Methods of Teaching' in (1851a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. V). London: George Bell., 415; 'The Philosophy of Teaching' in (1835b), *Educational Magazine (July-Dec.)*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 158, Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 5,21, 158, 211; Viney, (1854b), *Op Cit*, 221-222; 'Schoolroom Duality' (1863), Op Cit., no. 11, 168.

Sources from Canada include:
'The Art of Teaching' in (1851b), *JEUC*. (Vol. IV). Toronto. no. 4, 52; Dr. Forrester, *The Teacher's Textbook*. Reviews in (1866), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIX). Toronto., no. 8, 116-117; Hart, P. J. S. (1868), 'What is Teaching?' *The Educator, 1*, 73-75., 75; Rev. William Fraser, 'The Philosophy of Education' from the Educational Equipment of the Trained Teacher in (1861a), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIV). Toronto., no. 9, 132; Le Vaux, George Victor. 'The Principles and Practice of Education; or, The Science and Art of Teaching' in (1871), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIV). Toronto., no. 2, 26; Millar, J. (1897), *School Management and The Principles and Practice of Teaching*. Toronto: William Briggs., 94; 'Pleasures of School Teaching' in (1848a), *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*. (Vol. 1). Toronto., no 8, 237.; 'Qualifications and Duties of Teachers' in (1849b), *JEUC*. (Vol. II). Toronto., no. 1, 6; Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal., 57; Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 4-5,158; Viney, (1854b), *Op Cit*, 221-222.

[49] 'Method, and the Principles of Teaching: (1850a), Op Cit, 105; Ormiston, Rev. William. 'Address to Students - Instruction and Education' reprinted in (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., no. 5, 74; Ryerson, Egerton. 'Erection of the Normal, Model and Education Office Buildings in 1851: Introductory Sketch by Ryerson' in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE (1851-52), 2.

[50] J.S.G. 'Is Teaching the Grave of the Intellect?' in (1854c), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. VIII). London: George Bell., 203. Also published in (1854d), *JEUC*. (Vol. VII). Toronto., 128. Also see G.C. Drew, (1856a) Op Cit, 5; 'Laying Foundations - The Teacher' in (1851b), *JEUC*. (Vol. IV). Toronto., no. iv.

[51] Above all, reason and judgment were considered the best means to help cultivate the memory. Duguld Stewart contended that cultivating judgment or reason, should be the primary object of concern for teachers
Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* quoted in Dunn, H. (1837), *Principles of Teaching; or the Normal School Manual: Containing Practical Suggestions on the Government and Instruction of Children*. London: Sunday School Union. 115.

Also see:
Drew, (1856a) Op Cit, 51; Fraser ,'The Philosophy of Education', 132; Hamilton, E. (1810), *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education*. London: Wilkie and Robinson and G. Robinson. (also available in Upper Canada); Hamilton, Elizabeth. *The Philosophy of Education; No. I 'On the Cultivation of the Faculties, Perception and Attention'* in (1838), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., March, 99; *No II 'On the Cultivation of the Conceptive Faculty'* in (1838), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., April, 129;

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No III. 'The Exercise of the Conceptive Faculty' in (1838), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., April, 173; 'Method, and the Principles of Teaching" (1850) Op Cit., 109; 'On Teaching Power', 414; Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal.; 159; Salzmann, Extracts from the *Ant's Book, or a Guide to Rational Education of Teaching*, 210; Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 5,21; Viney, (1852b) Op Cit, 222; Hart, P. J. S. (1868), 'What is Teaching?' *The Educator, 1*. 73-75., 74; Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*., 112.

[52] Ryerson, E. (1846), *Op Cit*.., 163-168, 178, 183; Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1841), Op Cit,, 302-310.
Silber, K. (1960), *Pestalozzi: The Man and His Work*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul., 238.

Pestalozzi's books, outlining his experiences and pedagogical principles, were published in English throughout the nineteenth century, along with secondary literature on his life, teaching and influence. See:
F. Pestalozzi, *Leonard and Gertrude: A Book for the Poor* (original edition 1797; vol i translated in 1824 by Eliza Shepherd); Pestalozzi, 1787; Pestalozzi, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (original edition 1801; translated by Lucy E. Holland and Francis C. Turner in 1894); Pestalozzi, *Letters on Early Education: Addressed to J.P. Greaves*. (London, 1827).

A brief selection of the nineteenth century Anglo secondary literature on Pestalozzi includes: Henry Barnard, *Pestalozzi and Swiss Pedagogy* (Boston, 1850); Barnard 'Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism. Life, educational principles, and methods, of John Henry Pestalozzi; with biographical sketches of several of his assistants and disciples' in *American Journal of Education*, (1881) vol. 80; E. Biber, *Henry Pestalozzi and his plan of education; being an a/c of his life and writings, with copious extracts from his works and extensive details illustrative of the practical parts of his method*. (London, 1830); Margaret Jones, *A brief account of the Home and Colonial Institution : and of the Pestalozzian system as taught and practiced in its schools*. (London, 1867); Hermann Krüsi,. *Pestalozzi : his life, work, and influence*. Cincinnati, (Ohio, 1875); Charles Mayo, 'A lecture on the life of Pestalozzi : with other papers' (1856, unpublished pamphlet); Karl von Raumer, *The Life and System of Pestalozzi*, translated from the German by J. Tilleard (London: 1855), 8 volumes

[53] Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 82.

[54] Hon. H.H Barney, 'Educate Thoroughly' in (1856b), *JEUC*. (Vol. IX). Toronto., no. 8, 74; Channing, 'Advice to a Young Teacher' in (1849b), *JEUC*. (Vol. II). Toronto., no. 9, 143; Cook, Gilbert Wm. 'Errors in Teaching' in (1853b), *JEUC*. (Vol. VI). Toronto., no. 11, 173; Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*. 92; 'Method, and the Principles of Teaching," 110-111; Dunning, 'Training Colleges & the Training of Teachers: Second Letter to the Lord President of the Council' in (1854a), *The Educational Exposiier*. (Vol. I). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman ,September 1, no. 19, 336; Page, David P. (Principal of the New York State Normal School at Albany) 'Duty of the Teacher in Regard to the Manner of the Studies of His Pupils' in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., no. 10, i46; Pillans, J. (1829), *Principles of Elementary Teaching, Chiefly in Reference to the Parochial Schools of Scotland: In Two Letters to T.F. Kennedy*. (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Adam Black. Also Quoted in Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*. 87; Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 127.

[55] "The Educator Versus the Teacher" (1858), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. XII). London: George Bell., 146; *How to make Teaching agreeable* 'Address to the Schoolmasters of the Glandenough Church Education Society, assembled at the Annual Examination at Wicklow, July 13, 1847. By a Clergyman of the United Diocese.' Dublin, 1848 in '(1848b), *Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial School Society*. (Vol. I). London: Sampson Low., vol. i, 321-22; "On Methods of Teaching" in (1851a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. V). London: George Bell., 322- 32; Salzmann, Extracts from the *Ant's Book, or a Guide to Rational Education of Teaching*, 211; *Cor. Massachusetts Teacher*. 'Good Advice to Young Teachers' February 1852, in (1852b), *JEUC*. (Vol. V). Toronto., no. 5, 19.

[56]On England see.
John Allen, Nov 24, 1840 Report on schools in mining districts of Durham and Northumberland. Parliamentary Papers. (1841), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1840-1, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XX, pp. 1-110). London.
"Report on the State of several schools in the County of Derby. By the Rev John Allen, HMI - 1842" Parliamentary Papers. (1842), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-2, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1-286). London., 261.
Evidence of the Reverend T.W. Davids in Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., pt. iii, 154.
Report of the Reverend Henry Moseley of Schools in Berks and Wilts for the year 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London.
Ross, W. "Moral Qualifications of the Schoolmaster" in (1849a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. III). London: George Bell., 17.
Report of Reverend Watkins on Schools in Durham, Northumberland and York in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 130.
Evidence of Josiah Wilkinson, Esquire (Metropolitan Districts) Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commisstioners Popular Education (England)*. London., 394.

On Canada see:
Ormiston, W. "Reports of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1862" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *DHE*, vol 17 (1862-63), 228.

[57] *How to make Teaching agreeable* "Address to the Schoolmasters of the Glandenough Church Education Society, assembled at the Annual Examination at Wicklow, July 13, 1847. By a Clergyman of the United Diocese." Dublin: James Charles, 1848 in "(1848b), *Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial School Society*. (Vol. I). London: Sampson Low., vol. i, 318.
Hart, P. J. S. (1868), 'What is Teaching?' *The Educator, 1*. 73-75., 75.

[58] Drew likened the teacher's work to that of an excavator, mechanic and warrior:
"he excavator, who neither plans nor comprehends an undertaking as a whole, reflects, experiments, calculates, and so proceeds as to economize time, labour, and cost. The mechanic, in all his manipulations, would perpetuate a series of errors did he not comprehend the conceptions of the architect, and adapt his methods to the requirements of the design. The warrior must have his plans based on a study of the nature of war, as modified by the instruments employed, and the varying, though not uncalculated, contingencies which arise. ...What is true in this particular of one profession or art, is so of another." C. Drew, (1856a) Op Cit., 5.

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Tate, the mathematical instructor at Battersea Training College agreed: "In order that a man may become a good teacher, he must not only be thoroughly acquainted with the various branches of elementary education, and intimately acquainted with the great leading scientific principles of education, but he must also acquire that tact and skill in the management of numbers and classes, and that fluency of diction, power of illustration, and facility of availing himself of contingent circumstances, which can only be attained by long practice and patient study." Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit.*, 21.

[59] Some examples include:
Craig, A.R. *The Philosophy of Training; The Principles and art of normal education.* (London: 1847)
James Donaldson. "The Science of Education." In *Education, the School, and the Teacher, in English Literature*, edited by Henry Barnard, 481-96. (Hartford,1876.) Donaldson was Rector of the High School of Edinburgh
Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit.* Dunn was a Master of Method at one of the English Teacher Training Institutions.
Dr. Forrester,*The Teacher's Textbook*. (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1865) Forrestor held the position of Chief Superintendent of Schools for Nova Scotia, as well as being Principal of the Normal School of Nova Scotia.
Pillans, J. (1829), *Principles of Elementary Teaching, Chiefly in Reference to the Parochial Schools of Scotland: In Two Letters to T.F. Kennedy.* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Adam Black. Pillans was the headmaster of the Old Highschool of Edinburgh.
Hugo Reid, *The principles of education: an elementary treatise designed as a manual or guide for the use of parents, guardians, and teachers* (London, 1854) Reid was the headmaster of the People's College.
W. Ross,*The teachers manual of method; or, the General Principles of Teaching and School-Keeping, with Illustration.* (Manchester, 1848) Ross was a school inspector for the Manchester Church Education Society.
Stow, D. (1853), *The Training System, Moral Training School, and Normal Seminary or College*. London: Longmen, Brown, Green, and Longmans. Stow was the founder and headmaster of the Glasgow Training Seminary.
Joseph Workman, *Discourse on Education*. (Toronto, 1840)
Thomas Urry Young, *Young Teacher's Manual*. (Dublin, 1853) and *The Teacher's Manual for infant schools and preparatory classes.* (Dublin, 1862) Young was the Master of Infant Model and Training School in Dublin.

[60] Alexander Bain, *Education as a Science*. (London: 1879); Gabriel Compayré, *Lectures on pedagogy : theoretical and practical* / translated with an introduction and notes by W. H. Payne. (London, 1890); J.G. Fitch, *Lectures on teaching : delivered in the University of Cambridge during the Lent term* (Cambridge, 1881); Le Vaux, *The Science and Art of Teaching, or,The principles and practices of education* (Toronto, 1875); David Salmon, *The Art of Teaching* (London, 1900)

A few books on classroom management techniques include: Jacob Abbott, Gentle Measures in the Management and Training of the Young (New York, 1871); Joseph Landon, The Principles and Practice of Teaching and Class Management (London, 1894); J. Millar, School Management and The Principles and Practice of Teaching (Toronto, 1897)

[61] During each evening, a public lecture was delivered on some subject connected with elementary school education. During each day the participants, either formed into classes for school exercises, under the instruction of one of the Normal Schoolmasters, or discussed such topics as teaching methods, school organization and discipline. "An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada" passed 24 July 1850 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, Vol. ix, (1850-51), 31-56.

[62] These courses often ran during the summer or harvest seasons, and were known as harvest schools.
Hewlett, E. L. (1932), *The Work of the British and Foreign School Society in the Training of Teachers.* Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester, Swansea., 129-130; (1847), *English Journal of Education.* (Vol. I). London: George Bell. 356; Etherington, W. (1969), *A History of St. John's College, York 1841-1914.* Unpublished M.Ed., University of Leicester, Leicester., 48, 91.

[63] "Fifteen Years Among National Schools" in *The School and the Teacher*, September,1856. Quoted in Hughes, G. W. (1936), *The Social and Economic Status of the Elementary School Teacher in England 1833-1870.* Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester, Manchester., 63.

[64] Report of HMI of Schools, Bowstead for the year 1858 in Parliamentary Papers. (1859), Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1858-9, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXI, Pt 1). London.,155.

See also the Report by HMI of Schools, H.G. Bowyer, Esquire on the Schools of Parochial Unions in the Eastern and Midland Districts of England - for the year 1847-8 in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London., 105.
Report on Schools in the Eastern District by the Rev F.C. Cook, M.A., for the year 1845 in Parliamentary Papers. (1845), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-44, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-334). London., 71; Report of HMI J.S. Laurie, for the year 1858 in Parliamentary Papers. (1859), Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1858-9, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXI, Pt 1). London.,160.

[65] District Superintendent's Report to the Niagara District Council February 1849 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 8 (1848-1849), 269; Superintendent of Common Schools in Niagara District, 1848 Report (26 March 1849) in Public Archives of Ontario. (1849), Incoming General Correspondence Files Department of Education. Toronto.
"School Superintendents Report to the Gore District Council" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 8 (1848-1849), 269.

[66] "Method, and the Principles of Teaching" (1850a), *Op Cit.*, 106.

[67] On England see:
"The Art of Teaching" (1851), op. cit., 52; Drew, (1856a), Op Cit., 11, 53; "The Educator Versus the Teacher" in (1858), *Op Cit.*, Vol. XII, 146; "Method, and the Principles of Teaching", Op Cit 146; Newcastle Commission Report, Reports from Commissioners (1861), vol. xxi, pt iii, (Session 5 February - 6 August 1861), 154; Joseph Payne, *Works*. In R. Aldrich, *School and Society in Victorian Britain* (London, 1995), 189; Salzmann, Extracts from the *Ant's Book, or a Guide to Rational Education of Teaching*, (Schnepfenthal: 1805) in (1852a), *English Journal of Education.* (Vol. VI). London: George Bell; Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit.*, 17, 46.

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On Canada see:
G. 'Papers for the Schoolmaster' in (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., no. 3, 46.
Le Vaux, 'The Principles and Practice of Education; or, The Science and Art of Teaching', 148.
Ormiston, W. "Report of the Inspectors of the Grammar Schools of Upper Canada, 1861" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 17 (1861-1863), 15.
"Teaching" in (1851b), *JEUC*. (Vol. IV). Toronto., October, 151

[68] Letter to the Editor from "Omicron", in (1853a), *The Educational Exposiier*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman.,July, vol. i, 240.

"Thorough Teaching and the True System" and "Every Thing Should be Taught with Accuracy" in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., July, 83.

[69]From 1839 to 1846 under the stimulus of government grants, the number of training colleges multiplied in England, such that by 1860, there were thirty four colleges catering to over two thousand students in England. The Newcastle Commission Report revealed that by 1860 there were fifteen all-male training colleges, thirteen for women and five for both genders. Out of the total of thirty three colleges, twenty six (almost 80%) were run by the Church of England. Two were operated by the British and Foreign School Society, including the Borough Road Training Institution, which was the first teacher training institution in England. The Roman Catholic Church and the Wesleyans operated the remaining smaller colleges. During the same period of time, there was only one training college in Upper Canada, located at Toronto (York).
"Training Colleges Under Government Inspection in 1858" in Education Commission. (1861b), *Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England* (1). London., pt. i, 643-645.

[70] Report on the Training College of the British and Foreign School Society, in the Borough Road; for the year 1858 in Arnold, M. (1910), *Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882*. (3rd ed.). London: Eyre and Spottiswoode., 243-45.

[71] First and second class students at St. Mark's Training Institution in Chelsea (London) were required to attend a weekly lecture entitled 'Normal Teacher - Art of Teaching, &c.' Similarly, at Battersea Training Institution, students listened to a lecture on the theory and art of teaching, and on school discipline, each morning from 7:30 to 8:15. Furthermore, according to the 1842 curriculum at Battersea, students devoted between one to two hours per week to the study of Pestalozzi's work. Moreover, after 1846 classes devoted solely to the teaching of methodology increased amongst the English training institutions.

Allen, John. 'Report on St. Mark's College, Chelsea - The Training Establishment for Masters for the National Society', 5 December 1843 in *Committee of Council Minutes* 1842-43; Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1841), Op Cit, 362; Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1842-3, p 115, in Rich, R., W,. (1933), *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales During the Nineteenth Century*. (1 ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge at the University Press., 104; Course of Study at Whitelands Training Institution, for 1841 in *Report of the General Committee of the National Society, National Society*, 24 June 1841, National Society. (1838-1847), Minutes of Meetings of the General Committee, *Church of England Record Centre* (Vol. 4).

[72] Given that the Borough Road had been initially established by the British and Foreign School Society to instruct teachers in the monitorial methods associated with Joseph Lancaster, an overview of the monitorial system, its use and abuse, and the selection and training of monitors was also provided in the lecture series. However, the principal also lectured on a variety of more progressive methods, including the collective or simultaneous system, the synthetical method of teaching reading and analytical teaching.
List of 'Conversational Lectures' at the Borough Road Training College in R.W. Rich,*The Training of Teachers in England and Wales During the Nineteenth Century*. (Cambridge, 1933), 112.

[73] Sangster, J. H. (1871), *The Normal School for Ontario: Its Design and Functions (Chiefly Taken from the Report of the Chief Superintendent of Education for Ontario, for the Year 1869)*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 14-15.
Maria Payne's notebook from the 1869 session at the Normal School provides some insight into education methods covered in the curriculum. Her notes cover topics such as knowledge and preparation, order, progress and school management, the classification of pupils, monitors, rewards and punishments, admonition, and moral training. Pestalozzian methods for teaching the elementary subjects were also covered in her notes. Payne, M. (1869), *Normal School Notebooks*. (Vol. MU 975). Toronto: Provincial Archives of Ontario.

[74] At St. Mark's, teachers in training studied the Classification of European Languages; Original Elements of the English Language and the History of its Development. Senior students studied Virgil. Their Latin lessons were taken from Eton's *Latin Grammar* and Arnold's *Course and Exercises*, while junior students referred to Henry's First Latin Book. Coleridge, D. (1842),Op Cit, *Tracts on Education, 11*, 1-43., 20.
"The college must be an adapted copy, mutatis mutandis, of the elder educational institutions of the country." Coleridge, D. (1862), 'The Teachers of the People',37.
See also: *National Society Annual Report*, 1842, 78.
[75] Report on the National Society's Institution at Battersea, for the Training of Schoolmasters. By Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, the Rev. Henry Moseley, September 1847 in Parliamentary Papers. (1849), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1847-49, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLII). London., Appendix A, 357.

[76] Committee of Council Minutes 1844, vol II, p 586.

[77] "Annual Report on the Common, Model and Normal School of Upper Canada for the year 1852, by Egerton Ryerson" Quebec: John Lovell, 1853. Appendix No. 7 Syllabus of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada, Tenth Session (Summer), 1853, 113.
"Programme of Lectures in the Normal Schools for Ontario. Forty-fourth Session, August to December, 1870" in Sangster, J. H. (1871), *The Normal School for Ontario: Its Design and Functions (Chiefly Taken from the Report of the Chief Superintendent of Education for Ontario, for the Year 1869)*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 11.

[78] "Programme of the Annual Examination of the Normal and Model Schools for Upper Canada, at the close of the sixth session, 1850-51" in *Annual Report of the Normal, Model and Common Schools for Upper Canada, for the year 1850* by the Chief Superintendent of Education. Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1851.

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Examination Papers at St. Mark's College, Chelsea, December 1846, reprinted in (1847), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. I). London: George Bell., 63.
Appendix to the Report by the Rev. Henry Moseley, HMI, on the National Society's Training School at Battersea, examined by Rev. H. Moseley and Rev. H.W. Bellairs, in July 1848.

[79] "The Normal and Model School", *The Toronto Patriot*, 9 March 1850. Quoted in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., vol. 3, 36.

[80] Coleridge, D. (1842), Op Cit., 10.
Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1843), Op Cit., 399.

[81] Select Committee on Education. (1852), *Report from the Select Committee on Manchester and Salford Education; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence , Appendix, and Index*. London., 220.

[82] Curtis, B. (1988), *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*. London, Ontario. 27

[83] Robert Sullivan. *Letters and Lectures on Popular Education* (Dublin: William Curry, 1842), 32.

Curtis notes that Sullivan, a former inspector of the Irish National Commissioners, was headmaster of the Dublin Normal Schools when John George Hodgins, the deputy superintendent of education for Canada West (Ontario), attended that school in the late 1840s. Hodgins owned a copy of Sullivan's work which he excerpted in JEUC. Ibid., 20 ff.2.

[84] Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal. 9

[85] Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1839), 'Recent Measures for the promotion of education in England'. In Kay-Shuttleworth (ed.), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 187-286). Brighton: Harvester Press., March 1840, p. 251.

[86] Egerton Ryerson. "Advantages of Religion to Society", an editorial in the Christian Guardian, 16 July 1834, p. 142, c. 3 in Fiorino, A. F. (1978), 'The Moral Education of Egerton Ryerson's Idea of Education'. In N. McDonald and A. Chaiton (eds), *Egerton Ryerson and His Times* (pp. 59-80). Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 63

[87] "Education must be godly, or else it will be godless....It is by instruction and moral suasion, by discipline and prayer, to enable men to secure those high ends for which they were created, to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. The very drift and purpose of education cannot be seen, without faith in the great doctrines and hopes of the Word of God. It must be, not a training for this world only, in intellectual luxury that dazzles and deceives, but a training for immortal life; a moral discipline of which the fruits will abide and endure for ever."
"Nature and Purpose of Education" in (1848b), *Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial School Society*. (Vol. I). London: Sampson Low., vol. i, 312.

Also see:
Report on Education prepared by Dr. Charles Duncombe, submitted to the House of Assembly, February 25, 1836 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. ii (1831-1836), 293.
Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal., 32 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol 6 (1846-47), 32.
Ryerson, Egerton. "Progress of the Public School System of Upper Canada, 1842 to 1854" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), *DHE*, vol. 13, 64-65.
(1835a), *Educational Magazine (Jan.-June)*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., January, 17.
"Religion the Basis and End of Education ""(1848b), *Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial School Society*. (Vol. I). London: Sampson Low., vol. i, 105.

[88] Proposal for the Permanent Enlargement of the Training Institution - Norwich, National Society. (1849), 'Monthly Proceedings, 1847-1849'. *Monthly Paper, I-XXXVI*, 1-305., no. XXV, 30th Dec. 1848, 15.
Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE., vol. 2. 304

[89] In order to be admitted to St. Mark's Training Institution, candidates had to provide a written application and the following certificates, countersigned by a clergyman:
"First, a certificate of baptism. Secondly, a declaration from the parents or guardians of the youth, stating that he has attended the services of the Church of England with their consent and approbation, for the space of at least one twelvemonth [sic] previous to the date of the application. Thirdly, a medical certificate, for which a printed form will be sent. Fourthly, a *recommendation* from a clergyman, who is requested to state, as particularly as possible, the ground on which it is given as well for the satisfaction of the NATIONAL SOCIETY, as to prevent disappointment and needless expense on the part of the youth and his friends. Good moral character, amiability, truthfulness, and diligence, are indispensable requisites."
"Regulations for the Admission of Pupils" in Coleridge, D. (1841), 'Papers Relating to the Society's Training-College for Schoolmasters at Stanley Grove, Chelsea'. *Tract on Education. XI*, 39-43.

Students entered Battersea Training Institution were required to sign a Student Agreement, which noted among other things, when they had been confirmed in the Church of England.
Battersea Training College. (1845-53), *Student Agreements, 1845-53* (J/16). Plymouth: Battersea Training College.

Upper Canadian Certificates of Moral Character. Public Archives of Ontario. (1847), Incoming General Correspondence. Department of Education [Working Paper Series]. Toronto, PAO. (1848), Incoming General Correspondence Files Department of Education. Toronto.

[90] Each report contained statistics on common school teachers and their religious faith, with the majority throughout the nineteenth century being members of the Methodist Church and the Church of England.

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"Reports of the Chief Superintendent of Education on the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools of Upper Canada" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 9 (1851) - vol. 22 (1869-1871).

[91] Knowledge of the heart and character of the child were related to the cultivation of the moral faculties. The inseparable nature of the human heart and the intellect was illustrated in Dunn's *Normal School Manual*, which reminded teachers in England and Canada that '*the object of your care should be to form* GOOD MENTAL HABITS, to accustom children to discern between good and evil, and to teach them, not only how to acquire knowledge, but how to apply it.' Italics in original. Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit.*, 110.

On England also see:
Bellairs, Rev. H.W. *Report on Schools in Gloucester, Hereford, Onmount, Oxford, Warwick and Worcester* in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London.; Drew, (1856a) Op Cit, 8; Manchester Statistical Society. (1836a), *Op Cit.*, 34; Watkins, Rev. *Report on Schools in Durham, Northumberland and York* in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 130; Mr. James Riddall Wood; Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit.*, 291; Viney, (1854b), *Op Cit*, 222; "The Intellectual and Moral Faculties Considered in Relation to Teaching: Cultivation of the Moral Faculties" in (1854a), *The Educational Expositer*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., 176-177.

On Canada see:
Inspector's Report upon the State of the County Grammar Schools of Upper Canada, for the Year 1858 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 14 (1858-60), 9; "Cultivation of the Moral Faculties: in *JEUC*. Vol. VII, no. 4 (Toronto, 1854), 97; Instructions of the Common School Commissioners in Mosa to Robert Sharez, Teacher. 2 November 1842 in RG 2-22 Department of Education, PAO; "Papers on Practical Education" in *JEUC*. Vol. XVI, no. 11 (Toronto, 1863), 168; Rev. William Fraser, "The Philosophy of Education" from the Educational Equipment of the Trained Teacher in *JEUC*. Vol. XIV, no. 9 (Toronto, 1861) , 132

[92] Ryerson to the Hon. W.H. Draper in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol.4, 220-221; *Annual Report for 1864*, Appendix A, p. 34;
HMI John Allen's report *Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 1846, PP (1847), XLV, p 76 in Digby, A. and Searby, P. (1981), *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: MacMillan Press., 185.

[93] HMI John Allen's report *Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 1846, PP (1847), XLV, p 76 in Digby, A. and Searby, P. (1981), *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: MacMillan Press., 185.

[94] The author continued: "Must they be accurate, so let him be. Does he expect them to be diligent, just, patient, benevolent, pure, he should ask if these traits will spring naturally from sympathy with is spirit?"
"Teacher's Self-Heed Essential to His Success" in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., June, 83.

[95] T. Tate, "Method as applied to Education" in (1854a), *The Educational Expositer*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., 115.

[96] "The Influence of the Teacher's Work on His Personal Character" in (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., January, 6.

[97] Aphorisms, in (1840b), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., August, 1840, 113.

[98] Dwight quoted in Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit.*, 12.
Also: "The great object of Divine benevolence, says the venerable Dwight, is the happiness of his creatures; and he who promotes the happiness of a little child for half-an-hour, is a fellow-worker with God."
Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit.*, 231.

[99] "Clergyman's advice to his Schoolmistress. Fifteen Years among National Schools." School and the Teacher. August 1856) Quoted in Hughes, G. W. (1936), *The Social and Economic Status of the Elementary School Teacher in England 1833-1870*. Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester, Manchester., pt. 1, 58.

[100] "Speech of the Lord Bishop of Oxford, delivered to the Annual General Meeting of the National Society" Monthly Proceedings, 5th July 1847, no. 7 in National Society. (1849), 'Monthly Proceedings, 1847-1849'. *Monthly Paper, I-XXXVI*, 1-305., 4-5.

[101] "Teacher's Self-Heed Essential to His Success" in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., June, 83.

[102] "Report on the State of several schools in the County of Derby. By the Rev John Allen, HMI - 1842" Parliamentary Papers. (1842), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-2, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1-286). London., 261.

See also:
Coleridge, D. (1862), 'The Teachers of the People'., 34-6.
Hughes, G. W. (1936), *The Social and Economic Status of the Elementary School Teacher in England 1833-1870*. Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester, Manchester., pt. 2, 118.

[103] (1835a), *Educational Magazine (Jan.-June)*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., March, p.172.

See also:
"Charge of Lord Bishop of Sodor and Manchester", 1842 in Hughes, G. W. (1936), *The Social and Economic Status of the Elementary School Teacher in England 1833-1870*. Unpublished M.Ed., University of Manchester, Manchester., pt. 1, 92.
HMI John Allen's report *Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 1846, Parliamentary Papers (1847), XLV, 76.

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[104] Le Vaux, George Victor. "The Principles and Practice of Education; or, the Science and Art of Teaching" excerpted in (1871), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIV). Toronto., January, vol. XXIV, 6.

[105] HMI John Allen's report *Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 1846, Parliamentary Papers (1847), XLV, p 76 in Digby, A. and Searby, P. (1981), *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: MacMillan Press., 186.

See also:
Robert Roberts. *Life and Opinions*, p. 105 in Sturt, M. (1967), *The education of the people: A history of primary education in England and Wales in the nineteenth century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul., 123-124.

[106] On England see:
Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1839), 'Recent Measures for the promotion of education in England'. In Kay-Shuttleworth (ed.), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 187-286). Brighton: Harvester Press.,62.

On Upper Canada see:
Scarlett to Ryerson. 19 January 1849. PAO. (1849), Incoming General Correspondence Files
Department of Education. Toronto.
Report of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1860 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE vol 16 (1861), 148.
Ormiston, W. "Reports of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1862" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE vol 17 (1861-1863), 228.
Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Op Cit.

[107] Guizot, the French Minister of Education emphasized the "high vocation" of teaching, comparing the teacher to a priest who sets an example for his parishioners:

> A good Master ought to be a man who knows much more than he is called upon to teach, so that he may teach a noble and elevated spirit... he ought to be the obsequious servant of none; a man not ignorant of his rights, but thinking much more of his duties; showing to all a good example and serving to all as a counsellor... satisfied with his situation, because it gives him the power of doing good; and who has made up his mind to live and to die in the service of Primary Instruction, which, to him, is the service of God and his fellow creatures.

Quoted in Ryerson, E. (1846), *Op Cit.*, 199.

[108] On England, see:
(1829), *The Schoolmaster*. (Vol. I (1825-1831)). London., Vol. 1, No. 8, June 27, 72-73.
Evidence of Henry Dunn in Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*, 144.
"Fondness for Teaching" in the *English Journal of Education*. Reprinted in the (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., no 2, 24.

On Canada, see:
"Chief Superintendent's Annual Report on the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools in Ontario, for the year 1870" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol 22, 1869-1871 p. 279.
Ormiston, W. "Reports of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1862" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE vol 17, 228.
"Reports of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1860" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE. vol 16, 146.
"Reports of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1861" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE vol 17, 20.

[109] On England see:

Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1839), 'Recent Measures for the promotion of education in England'. In Kay-Shuttleworth (ed.), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 187-286). Brighton: Harvester Press., 53.
Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1845. II. pp. 78-181. Quoted in Jennings, R. (1994), *Lofty Aims & Lowly Duties: Three Victorian Schoolmasters*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press., 49.
Edinburgh Review, 1853. Quoted in Jennings, R. (1994), *Lofty Aims & Lowly Duties: Three Victorian Schoolmasters*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press., 49.
(1861b, July 1861), 'Popular Education'. *The Edinburgh Review, CXIV*, 15-30., 15.

On Canada see:
Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal. in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 6 (1846) 198.
Ryerson, Egerton. "Fifth Annual School Report of the Chief Superintendent, for the Year 1849" in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.) (1894), DHE, vol. 8 (1848-1849), p. 281.

[110] The individual who has the "qualifications... requisite to attain the high position of a successful Teacher, possesses just the qualities of both mind and heart, which will seldom fail of ensuring success in other walks of life." Report of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1860 in Hodgins, J. G. (ed.), DHE (1860), vol 16, 148.

On Canada also see:
Duncombe, Charles. "Dr. Charles Duncombe's Report upon the Subject of Education", 1836 in DHE, vol.2, 308.
DHE, (1836-1840) vol. 3, 147.
Millar, John. *School Management and the Principles and Practice of Teaching*. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897 28.
Ormiston, W. "Report of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1862" in DHE, vol.17, 229.
Superintendent of Schools for London District. Speech to the District Municipal Council, 1 February 1848 in DHE, vol. 8 (1848-1849), 130.
Young, J. (1880), *Early History of Galt and the Settlement of Dumfries in the Province of Ontario*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company., 205.

On England see:

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Rev HW Bellairs, Report on Schools in Gloucester, Hereford, Onmount, Oxford, Warwick and Worcester in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London.
Coleridge, D. (1842), Op Cit., 9.
Evidence of J. M. Hare, Esq. (Maritime Districts) in Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners Popular Education (England)*. London., 224
Select Committee on Education. (1852) Op Cit., 219.
Rev. Watkins, Report on Schools in Durham, Northmberland and York in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 130.

[111] "An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada" 1846 in DHE, vol. 6, 301.

[112] On England see:
HMI John Allen's report *Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 1846, PP (1847), XLV, p 76 in Digby, A. and Searby, P. (1981), *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: MacMillan Press., 185.
Coleridge, D. (1842), Op Cit, 9.
"The Infant Teachers' Assistant, by T. Bilby and R.B. Ridgeway, Masters of the Chelsea and Kent Street Infant Schools." February, (1835a), *Educational Magazine (Jan.-June)*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 128.
Select Committee on Education. (1852-53), *Op Cit*., 517.
T. Tate, "Method as applied to Education" in (1854a), *The Educational Exposiier* (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., 115-116.

On Canada see:
A. Carmen, Matilda to Ryerson, Oct 19, 1846 in PAO. (1846), Incoming General Correspondence Department of Education. Toronto.
Harkness, A. (1896), *Iroquois High School 1845-1895: A Story of Fifty Years*. Toronto: William Briggs. 22.
Report on Education prepared by Dr. Charles Duncombe, submitted to the House of Assembly, February 25, 1836 in DHE, vol. ii (1831-1836), 293.
Agreement between Mr. W.J. Hamilton, Teacher and Mille Roches, Cornwall, 1840. in RG 2-22 Department of Education, PAO.
Instructions of the Common School Commissioners in Mosa to Robert Sharez, Teacher. 2 November 1842 in RG 2-22 Department of Education, PAO.
List of the Rules and Regulations of the Common School held in the School District No. 7 – Township of Marysburgh County and District of Prince Edward, Taught by James Howell (1842) in RG 2-22 Department of Education, PAO.

[113] Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*. Educational Proceedings of the County Councils in 1855-56 in DHE, vol. 13 (1856-1858), 72; Editorial, "Importance of Schoolmasters Office" *School & Teacher*, Jan 1854., (1849a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. III). London: George Bell., 391.

[114] After accepting the office of Assistant Superintendent of Common Schools in October 1844, Egerton Ryerson, embark upon a ten month educational study tour of Europe. Similarly, along with E. Carleton Tufnell, Kay-Shuttleworth had undertaken a continental tour to study schools in 1835. All were particular impressed with Prussian schooling practices, which were based on Pestalozzian principles. Many of these principles found their way into the emerging Canadian and English education and normal school system that developed over the next half century.
Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1841), 'First Report on the Origin and Organisation of the Training College at Battersea', *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 294-386). London: Spottiswoode and Co.
Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal.

[115] Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1841), 'First Report on the Origin and Organisation of the Training College at Battersea', *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 294-386). London: Spottiswoode and Co., 296.

[116]Kay-Shuttleworth (1841) Op Cit., 114.

[117] Newcastle Commission, vol iii, p. 85.

[118] At the Borough Road Training Institution, run by the British and Foreign School Society, a practical and professional approach to training was adopted. Like Battersea students, Borough Road candidates were kept busy throughout the day with manual work as well as practical training. Dunn, Secretary to the BFSS, noted that "Our object is to keep them incessantly employed from five in the morning until nine or ten at night."

"Evidence of Henry Dunn, Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society in Select Committee. (1834),Op Cit., 17.

Practical training in farming and general agriculture was provided at the Normal School for Upper Canada as well. "Ceremony of Opening at the Normal School Buildings, 1852" in DHE, vol. 10 (1851-1852), 286.

On England, see also:
Manchester Statistical Society. (1835b),*Op Cit*., 10-11.
Select Committee. (1835), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence). London: Select Committee of Council on Education.
Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*., 277.
Report on the Elementary Schools of the Midland Districts, by the Rev. Henry Moseley, in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 96.
Report on Day Schools in Cambridge, Essex, Huntingdon, Norfolk and Suffolk by Rev. M. Mitchell, 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 250.

[119] A sign entitled "Regulations Respecting Dress: The utmost simplicity of dress and modesty of

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demeanour are to be observed, and strict attention my be paid to the rules of this Institution" was posted in the dormitory at Whitelands Training Institution for Women.

Female students at the Normal School for Upper Canada were told that they should be "well kept dressed" which meant that "over jeweled is not good taste." They should wear "well kept linen white, black boots, well brushed [and] well fitting gloves." Payne, M. (1869), *Normal School Notebooks* (Vol. MU 975). Toronto: Provincial Archives of Ontario.

According to the "General Rules and Regulations governing Students of the Normal School for Upper Canada" students were expected "to conform strictly to the appointed hours, conduct themselves with decorum and propriety, not merely when on the Premises, but when coming to and leaving them."
"Proceedings of the Council of Public Instruction, 1852" in DHE, vol. 10 (1851-1852), 247.

[120]Education Commission. (1861b), *Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England* (1). London., 163.

HMI Allen explained why gentleness was required in the schooling of the poor:
"It seems to me that Gentleness is a peculiarly valuable Quality in a Schoolmaster for the Poor. With the Children of the upper Classes, if they get rough Treatment at School they have their kindly Sympathies brought out by the Education of their Homes; but with the Poor, their external Manners, especially where there is a Pressure of Poverty, do not always do Justice to the Warmth of Feeling within, and the Consequence too frequenly is that their Offspring grow up untoward and stubborn, from its never having been realized to them that those with whom they came in contact had any serious Care for their Welfare."
Report by the Rev. John Allen on the State of several Schools in the Counties of Chester, Derby, and Lancaster (20 May 1841), in Parliamentary Papers. (1842), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-2, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1-286). London.,102.

On England also see:
Reverend H.W. Bellairs, Report on Schools in Gloucester, Hereford, Onmount, Oxford, Warwick and Worcester, for the Year 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London.
Report by Rev Henry Moseley on Elementary Schools of the Midland District in Parliamentary Papers. (1847a), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-600). London., 135.
Education Commission. (1861c), *Reports from Commissioners*
Popular Education (England). London., pt. iii, 282.
(1862), *The Educational Paper of the Home and Colonial Training Institution*. (Vol. IV (April)). London: Groombridge and Son., 90.

On Canada see:
Ryerson, E. (1846), *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. Montreal: in DHE, vol.6 (1846) p. 201-202.
Ormiston, W. "Report of the Grammar School Inspectors, for 1862" in DHE, vol.17 (1861), 229.
"The Influence of the Teacher's Work on His Personal Character" in (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., January, 6.
"Importance of selecting good teachers" in (1848a), *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*. (Vol. 1). Toronto., vol. 1, no. 3 (March), 87.
Le Vaux, George Victor. "The Principles and Practice of Education; or, the Science and Art of Teaching" excerpted in (1871), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIV). Toronto., January, vol. XXIV, 6.

[121] Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1839), 'Recent Measures for the promotion of education in England'. In Kay-Shuttleworth (ed.), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 187-286). Brighton: Harvester Press., 63.

[122] The perfect schoolmistress was a mother to her pupils:

> preparing them, both by precept and example, for the course of life (whatever it may be) which awaits them. In order to do this, she must not only be guided in her every-day life of words and actions by strict religious principle, but she must be qualified, by a practical knowledge of common domestic duties, to teach and shew her pupils how to fulfil such in the best way, at the same time placing before them the high motives which may and ought to simulate them in the performance of even the most menial service. Such a school mistress ... would indeed be a blessing to her pupils, and the results to society generally of many such mistresses being sent forth into the country would be inestimable.

Letter from Superintendent of Whitelands (Julia Field, 1841-50) 5 Oct 1849 in National Society, 1850 #245], No. XXXVII, January, 36.

See also:
February, (1835a), *Educational Magazine (Jan.-June)*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 157.
"Value of Female Teachers in Common Schools" in (1863), *JEUC*. (Vol. XVI). Toronto., 104.

[123] Higginson, J. H. (1939), *The Dame Schools of Great Britain*. Unpublished M.A., University of Leeds, Leeds., 95.
Letter to the Editor of the *Educational Magazine* in (1840a), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 273.
'Riverside Visitor' in *Good Words* (1873) quoted in Higginson, J. H. (1939), *The Dame Schools of Great Britain*. Unpublished M.A., University of Leeds, Leeds., 39.

[124] "Value of Female Teachers in Common Schools" in (1863), *JEUC*. (Vol. XVI). Toronto., 104.

[125] "Teacher's Self-Heed Essential to His Success" in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., June, 83.
"The Intellectual and Moral Faculties Considered in Relation to Teaching: Cultivation of the Moral Faculties" in (1854a), *The Educational Exposiier*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., 176.
Teaching Contract, Carradoc 1842 in RG 2-222, Department of Education, PAO.
F.H. Armstrong, "John Strachan, Schoolmaster, and the Evolution of the Elite in Upper Canada/Ontario" in J. Donald Wilson, ed. *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History* (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984) 154-169.

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Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1839), 'Recent Measures for the promotion of education in England'. In Kay-Shuttleworth (ed.), *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 187-286). Brighton: Harvester Press, 63, 251.
Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1841), 'First Report on the Origin and Organisation of the Training College at Battersea', *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 294-386). London: Spottiswoode and Co., 313-314.

[126]Moreover, the teacher's role as nurturing gardener was bound up with the larger aim of education, social control through cultivation of the moral sentiments:
"The absence of education is like that of cultivation, the mind untutored becomes a waste, in which prejudices and traditional errors grow as rankly as weeds. In this sphere of labour, as in every other, prudent and diligent culture, is necessary to obtain genial products from the soil; noxious agencies are abroad, and, while we refuse to sow the germs of truth and virtue, the winds of heaven bring the winged seeds of error and vice." Kay-Shuttleworth, S. J. (1832), 'The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes of Manchester in 1832', *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (pp. 1-84). London: Spottiswoode and Co., 60.

[127] Young, Samuel. Report to the Legislature of the State of New York. Quoted in Ryerson, E. (1846), *Repor. Op Cit*, 201.

[128] Stow, D. (1853), *The Training System, Moral Training School, and Normal Seminary or College*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 7,439.
"Letter to a Sunday School Teacher" ,Leeds, March 3rd, 1840 in (1840b), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. II). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 55.
"Reports of the Inspectors of the Grammar Schools of Upper Canada, 1861" in DHE, vol.17, p. 15.

[129] Solo. "Pleasures of School Teaching" in (1848a), *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*. (Vol. 1). Toronto., vol. 1, no. 8 (August), 237-238.

[130] "Unless he possess the personal power to excite a thirst for learning, his efforts may only tend to their intellectual poverty. He must gain and secure their affections. Love is the silken cord, stronger than cables of coercion, by which he must draw them to the fountains of wisdom."
"Teacher's Self-Heed Essential to His Success" in (1850b), *JEUC*. (Vol. III). Toronto., June, 83.

Also see:
Evidence of H. Althans, Inspector of the British and Foreign School Society in Select Committee. (1834), *Op Cit*, 120.
John Caldwell, evidence in Select Committee. (1835), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence). London: Select Committee of Council on Education., 29.
Evidence of Henry Dunn in Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*., 44.
"Fondness for Teaching" in the *English Journal of Education*. Reprinted in the (1857), *JEUC*. (Vol. X). Toronto., no 2, 24.
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[131] T.Tate, "Method as applied to Education" in (1854a), *The Educational Exposiier*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., 116.

[132] Coleridge, D. (1842) Op Cit. 7.

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[133] Ross, W. "Moral Qualifications of the Schoolmaster" in (1849a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. III). London: George Bell., 17.
[134] John Allen, Nov 24, 1840 Report on schools in mining districts of Durham and Northumberland Parliamentary Papers. (1841), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1840-1, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XX, pp. 1-110). London.,53.
Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*, 38 ; Education Commission. (1861b), *Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England* (1). London., 163.

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[137] Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*., 13

[138] Salzmann, (Schnepfenthal: 1805) in (1852a), Op Cit, Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 164.

HMI Norris was pleased to be able to: "revisit a school, and see as one enters the smile of recognition that runs through all the children, and the more thoughtful welcome in the faces of the master or mistress and pupil teachers - find, as the exam advances, that the school is sound and healthy to the core - that the teacher has a thorough hold upon the children, and has succeeded in imparting to them his own spirit of truthfulness and gentleness." Reverend J. P. Norris - Report on Schools in Chester, Salop, Stafford in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 486.

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[139] (1848b), *Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial School Society*. (Vol. I). London: Sampson Low., vol. i, 194-95.

[140] William Lovett, *Chartism, a new organisation for the people : embracing a plan for the education and improvement of the people, politically and socially. Written in Warwick Goal by William Lovett and John Collins*. (London, 1840.)

[141] Quoted in "Value of Female Teachers in Common Schools" in (1863), *JEUC*. (Vol. XVI). Toronto., 104.

[142] "A silent moral power ought to reign in the school room rather than ostentatious and *merely* coercive measures. Its influence is more happy, effective, and permanent...true wisdom and skill in school government consists in the prevention rather than in punishment of offences, - in cultivating the better feelings of our nature, truthfulness, generosity, kindness and self-respect, love of study and sense of duty. Such influences women are pre-eminently fitted to wield. Refined and lady-like manners, with a mellow and winning voice, will exert a peculiar sway, even upon the rudest and most unmannerly youth."
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[143] On Canada, see:
"Inspector's Report upon the State of the Country Grammar Schools of Upper Canada, for the year 1858" in DHE, , vol. 14 (1858), 94.
Public Schools, C. o. T. (1859), *Report of the Past History, and Present Condition, of the Common or Public Schools of the City of Toronto*. Toronto: City of Toronto., 65.
"Reorganization of the Model Grammar School for Upper Canada, 1861" in DHE, vol. 17, p. 10.

On England see:
Reverend H.W. Bellairs - Gloucester, Hereford, Onmount, Oxford, Warwick and Worcester in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London.
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Report on Schools in the Eastern District by the Rev F.C. Cook, M.A. 1845 in Parliamentary Papers. (1845), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-44, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-334). London., 83.
Report of Rev F.C. Cook on Schools in Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford and Middlesex for the year 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 49.
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Rev. Moseley, Report on Schools in Berks and Wilts, etc. for the Year 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 25.
Rev. Watkins , Report on Schools in Durham, Northumberland and York in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 130.
Exeter Diocesan Board of Education Report in May 1840; (1840a), *Educational Magazine*. (Vol. I). London: Darton and Clark, Holborn Hill., 395.

[144] Payne, M. (1869), *Normal School Notebooks*. (Vol. MU 975). Toronto: Provincial Archives of Ontario.
How to make Teaching agreeable "Address to the Schoolmasters of the Glandenough Church Education Society, assembled at the Annual Examination at Wicklow, July 13, 1847. By a Clergyman of the United Diocese." Dublin: James Charles, 1848 in "(1848b), *Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial School Society*. (Vol. I). London: Sampson Low., vol. i, 321-22.

[145] A.R. Craig *The Philosophy of Training* (London: 1847)

"As a first great step to the establishment of discipline, the master should really love his pupils. Love them!..The Christian teacher must love them, - Jesus died for them, not less than for the offspring of the rich...Now as love always begets love, if the master really loses his pupils, they in return will love him. But if they love their master, they will also endeavour to please him, and to avoid doing anything which is calculated to give him pain. In this way the MASTER'S WILL becomes the RULE of the school; and as children necessarily imitate those whom they love and respect, the MASTER'S CHARACTER becomes the LA of the school. Even some of our domesticated animals are best governed by kindness. In the government of a school

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the greatest of all ends is to lead the children to love what is good and hate what is evil, - to follow virtue and shun vice." T.Tate, "Method as applied to Education" in (1854a), *The Educational Exposiier*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., 115.

[146] Le Vaux, George Victor. "The Principles and Practice of Education; or, the Science and Art of Teaching" excerpted in (1871), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIV). Toronto., January, vol. XXIV, 6.

[147] Reverend M. Mitchell. Report on the Day Schools in Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk and Suffolk, 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London., 250.

[148] Palemon, (1815) Op. Cit., Letter 3. Also see Letter 2.

[149] Select Committee on Education. (1838), *Op Cit*., 175.

[150] Letter from William Crooks of Grimsby, January 12, 1818 in Gourlay, R. (1822), *Statistical Account of Upper Canada Compiled with a View to a Grand System of Emigration*. London: Simpkin & Marshall., 433-434.
Schools in early Upper Canada were said to be full of these "coxcombs mere adventurers, who pretend to a great degree of learning that, frequently, to the great astonishment of their employers, display their smattering skill in Mathematics and the Languages." Palemon. (1815, Op. Cit., Letter 3.

[151] Evidence of James Riddall Wood, Select Committee. (1835), *Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of education of the people of England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the grant made in the last session of parliament for the erection of schoolhouses, and the expediency of further grants in aid of education* (Minutes of Evidence). London: Select Committee of Council on Education., 292

[152] Teaching power was also referred to as 'educative power', 'fitness to teach' and 'aptness to teach.' Some believed that teaching power could either be improved upon or acquired through careful and diligent study and training, in conjunction with practice. However, as the concept had been derived from the Germans notion of *Lehrgabe* or *teaching gift*, others considered it a gift of nature that only the best teachers possessed. "Aptness to Teach" in (1870), *JEUC*. (Vol. XXIII). Toronto., November, 169; Dunn, H. (1837), *Op Cit*, 66; "On Teaching Power" in (1852a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. VI). London: George Bell., 331; Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 277-278; Tate also in (1861a), *JEUC*. (Vol. XIV). Toronto., September, 132.

"Let us then create educative power in the right sense, in the right direction. Let us send out teachers with the power of acting on the sympathies and imitative propensities of children with the power of subduing what is turbulent, elevating what is sordid, refining what is gross, and directing what is misled, in the dispositions of children with the power of aiding the young mind...and bidding it go free. Glorious day for Britain, that would see go forth a race of teachers endowed with such "educative powers." "Training Colleges and the Training of Teachers: Second Letter to the Lord President of the Council" by Robert Dunning in (1854a), *The Educational Exposiier*. (Vol. 1). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman., September 1, no. 19, 333.

Also See HMI Reverend F.C. Cook, Report on Schools in Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford and Middlesex, for the Year 1850 in Parliamentary Papers. (1851), Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850, *Parliamentary Papers* (Vol. XLIV, pp. 1839-1842). London; "Fitness for Teaching" in (1863), *JEUC*. (Vol. XVI). Toronto., September, 132; "On Teaching Power" in (1852a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. VI). London., 416; Salzmann, (1852a), Op Cit, 40.

[153] "Real fitness for teaching" would come "only with the most varied and generous culture, with the best talents enthusiastically engaged, and the noblest christian character." "Fitness for Teaching" in (1863), *JEUC*. (Vol. XVI). Toronto., September, 132; HMI Reverend Moseley's Report on Schools, 1850. Quoted in "On Teaching Power" (1852a), *English Journal of Education*. (Vol. VI); Tate, T. (1857), *Op Cit*., 278.

[154] Foucault, M. (1971). Nietzsche, Genealogy, History. *Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault: 1954-1984*. J. D. Faubion. London, Penguin.

[155] Dreyfus, H. L. and P. Rabinow (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. New York, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 109.

[156] Rose, N. (1999), *Powers of Freedom, Reframing Political Thought*., 58.

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